

ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS

BY HUGH J. SCHONFIELD

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[Continued on front flap]

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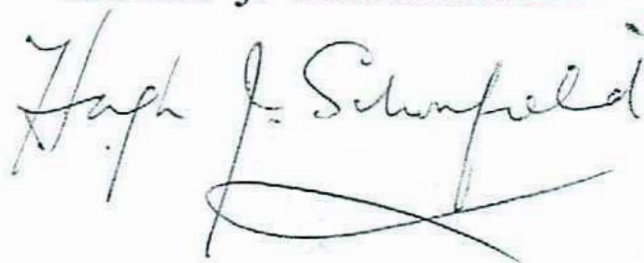
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HUGH J. SCHONFIELD

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Hugh J. Schonfield". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the printed name.

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"Are there then five Gospels?" said Cyril. "Where is the fifth?"

The Monk said, "It is the Gospel that was written to the Hebrews."

From a Discourse on Mary by Cyril of Jerusalem.

To J. RENDEL HARRIS,
M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., D.Th.,
whose constant encouragement
has enabled me to pursue
this quest.

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FOREWORD

WHEN I published, in the spring of 1936, my *History of Jewish Christianity*, several scholars who were kind enough to commend my work expressed a hope that I might furnish a more extended study of the Nazarenes, a short account of whom I had given in the earlier chapters of that book. I cannot say that the present work is in direct response to these requests, as the research of which it is the result has occupied much of my leisure for many years ; but I do say that their wishes have encouraged me to complete it, and I trust that they and others will feel that at the least I have opened the door a little wider that leads us into the unexplored domain of Christian Judaism.

The implications of my thesis, however, are so startling that they are likely to arouse keen controversy in circles widely removed from the centres of patient and sober scholarship. Indeed, the new light that is thrown on certain incidents in the life of Christ is so astounding, that I had not dared to present my case unless the evidence was overwhelming. To satisfy myself finally I submitted a considerable part of the manuscript to a Christian scholar upon whose careful judgment I felt I could rely, and his emphatic endorsement of my main positions relieved me of any lingering doubts. Since that time I have carried my investigation further, and subsequent discoveries have only supplied additional confirmation. I cannot yet say that my proofs are complete, but they are as complete as my commitments will allow for some time to come. By making the results already obtained available in convenient form

I hope to secure the active help of those whose valued criticisms will tend to correct any inexactitudes or lapses on my part, while their own researches will swell the volume of corroborative data.

To many the aspect of Gospel Origins with which I am dealing will be quite unfamiliar. It is only in recent years that the historical problems affecting the life of Jesus and that of the early Christian communities have been approached from the Nazarene angle. I have been one of the pioneers in this field, and I have been glad to note that more and more students are being attracted to it as it is realized how substantial are its rewards. In certain quarters one still meets with the opposition of an obsolete and unworthy prejudice due in part to an hereditary racial antipathy which certainly should not manifest itself among servants of him who broke down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile. However, one is forced to recognize that this attitude is still active, and exerting itself often unconsciously to withstand the truth. But "truth is great, and must in the end prevail," and I trust that some of the prospects opened up in the course of this study, especially where the excitement of the chase has led me into fertile digressions, will prove so seductive that even those of austere and unfriendly composition will find them irresistible.

HUGH J. SCHONFIELD.

INTRODUCTION

I

THE *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is a literary outlaw with a price on its head; but in spite of the scholarly hue and cry it still evades capture. Neither monastic libraries nor Egyptian rubbish heaps have so far yielded up a single leaf of this important document. Yet the pursuit shows no signs of slackening; rather has it increased in recent years. And the reason is that *Hebrews* is altogether too vital a witness to the form and content of the original Christian gospel to be allowed to keep its secret inviolate. For behind *Hebrews* lie the unknown potentialities of the Nazarene tradition, which may confirm or contradict some of the most cherished beliefs of orthodox Christianity.

It is useless for certain theologians to designate *Hebrews* as "secondary" on the evidence of the present fragmentary remains preserved in quotation. Long ago it was pointed out that if all that survived of any of our canonical Gospels was certain peculiar passages they would have been proclaimed by scholars with a wealth of cogent reasoning to be late and legendary. Judged by ancient testimony alone it is indisputable that *Hebrews* has the best right of any Gospel to be considered a genuine apostolic production; and however corrupted in later times—the condition in which we should doubtless recover it—sufficient of the original text would be extant to satisfy our principal historic requirements. And it is from this standpoint, especially for our

knowledge of the life of Christ, that *Hebrews* is so necessary. We can proceed very little further in the quest for the historical Jesus until the evidence of this lost Gospel can be taken in fuller detail.

The position is in a sense analogous to that of the records of the Jewish war with Rome. We have the history of Josephus, and on this we have mainly depended for our knowledge of the circumstances ; but what a difference it might make to our interpretations if we had the missing version of his rival Justus of Tiberias. Both writers evidently made loud protestation that they, and they alone, gave the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth ; yet obviously each was biased, and if the two accounts could be set side by side the real truth would lie somewhere between them in those points on which they differed.

In a similar way our Hellenized Gospels are opposed to the Hebrew Gospel. Each has its tendency. We have relied solely on the canonical texts for the facts about the life and teaching of Jesus. In the present state of our knowledge we could not do otherwise. Would the Jewish records, if recoverable, have another tale to tell ? We are aware even from the extant remains that *Hebrews* did contain unfamiliar elements, and we must not by any means presume that the only divergences are those which the Church Fathers quote. Even within the framework of the *tetra-evangelion* there are serious discrepancies both in circumstance and chronology, and Christian scholarship from the second century to the twentieth has attempted in vain to produce a convincing harmony.

Modern anxiety to find another standard, even if it be an inimical one, by which to test the general truth of the New Testament portrait of Jesus, has led men like Eisler to weave a fantastic fabric out of the parti-coloured threads

supplied by some curious passages in the Old Russian version of Josephus' *Jewish War*. His monumental work, englished as *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist*, is an eloquent testimony to the prevailing demand for more light. Despite Eisler's perverse handling of his material, he is at least to be congratulated on forcing a recognition that there are traces in known Christian and Jewish tradition of other facts about Jesus of Nazareth, no less worthy of credence than those contained in the canonical narratives. For too long has the concluding sentence of the Gospel of John been treated as if it was merely rhetorical. And the Christian writer has the support of a Pagan, the philosopher Celsus.

"And there are also many other things which Jesus did," says the author of John's Gospel.

"I could relate many more things concerning Jesus," says the Jew of Celsus, "all of which are true, but which have quite a different character from what his disciples relate touching him."

By the scripture ruling, "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established."

The quite intelligible difficulty with earnest Christian historians is how to assess the worth of any extra-canonical tradition about the life and teaching of Christ. The orthodox view of his person is so august that there is a natural fear in departing in any particular from what are regarded as inspired records. The historian who is not limited by his belief, provided he is honest, is really in a much better position to furnish us with a life of Jesus the man, even though he may lack the spiritual insight to penetrate into the deeper mystery of his being. Such a non-Christian or liberal Christian historian will not place the canonical records on any higher plane of trustworthiness

than the rest of the material that is available to him, unless it is possible to establish their greater reliability by the application of those tests which are usual in the investigation of ancient documents.

Those tests have actually been applied, and the conclusion is quite clear that the antecedents of none of the four Gospels is known, and there is very little evidence of their existence much before the first quarter of the second century, or about one hundred years after the events they describe. All of the four are secondary, with *Mark*, if anything, somewhat earlier than the others. But before any of them comes into the field there are references to Jesus and his teaching expressed in different terms from what is contained in the canonical accounts in writings which are deserving of confidence. These, so far as they are available, do not contradict the later outline of events as generally accepted ; but they do establish that there existed at one time older and no less authoritative material in oral or written form.

In the search for any outstanding authority of early date, with its antecedents vouched for by the unanimous consent of venerable traditions, the impartial historian comes up inevitably against a Gospel described as having been written by the apostle Matthew in the Hebrew language. It is plain that this Gospel, whatever was its original name, was afterwards known because of canonical Matthew as the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Here is obviously a most valuable witness, perhaps *the* most valuable witness to the truth about Jesus, whom even a jury composed entirely of orthodox Christians could not despise, and who ought to be brought into court. But he is missing, and all that we have is a few reported statements of his taken a long time ago.

No wonder then that the hunt for *Hebrews* continues unceasingly.

Dr. Dunkerley, in a recent pronouncement on *Hebrews*,¹ opens his remarks by quoting Canon Streeter to the effect that "only the very daring, nowadays, venture on speculations in regard to the Gospel according to the Hebrews" and continues "the subject is too important, however, for us to be content to leave it in its present unsatisfactory state." Nevertheless, after restating the position in his own way, there Dunkerley like other scholars has to leave it for want of fresh material.

When the uniqueness of *Hebrews* is considered, together with the fact that copies of it, or at any rate translations, were extant down to the Middle Ages, it is rather extraordinary that the work should have so completely disappeared.

The full extent of our information has been a few direct quotations and references in the patristic literature, and some marginal readings from "the Jewish" in several old Gospel manuscripts. To this must be added the statement in the *Stichometry of Nicephorus* that *Hebrews* contained 2,200 lines, that is 300 lines less than canonical Matthew. For the rest, it has been suggested that some of the Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus may derive from *Hebrews*; and of course there is the possibility of unidentified quotations in early Christian literature.

With such inadequate foundations upon which to build, any theories put forward could only be speculative, and one would expect to find the widest disagreements among investigators. And this is actually the case. Dunkerley distinguishes three types of theory, "all of which in varying forms have been advocated."

¹ *Expository Times*, 1929, pp. 437-442, 490-495. While disagreeing with Dr. Dunkerley's theories, I must pay tribute to his excellent summary of the situation, which I have largely quoted.

"First, it may be held that it (*Hebrews*) also, like the Ebionite Gospel, was secondary—a modified form of canonical Matthew.

"Secondly, it may be thought that we have in 'Hebrews' a variant working over of some of the sources (oral or written) underlying the canonical Gospels—so that the fragments may preserve some portion of them or points in them neglected by the Evangelists.¹

"Thirdly, it may be argued that there has been dependence not of 'Hebrews' on the Synoptics but *vice versa*—that 'Hebrews' was one of the sources on which one or more of them drew. In its older form (that 'Hebrews' was actually the Aramaic original of Matthew) this is no longer held."

A problem of even greater difficulty, however, presents itself, and this is alluded to in the first of the theories mentioned above. The title *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is held to have covered at least two types of text. "On the basis of these facts it has been usual to distinguish two Gospels—that 'according to the Hebrews' known to Clement, Origen, Eusebius and Jerome, and in common use amongst the Nazarenes or orthodox Jewish Christians, and that 'of the Ebionites,' also called 'of the Twelve' and 'of the Apostles,' referred to as heretical by Origen and quoted by Epiphanius. Jerome has been thought in error in suggesting that the Ebionites used the Hebrew Gospel known to him, unless he meant by Ebionites the orthodox Jewish Christians, in which case the difference between them and the Nazarenes is not clear; he has further been considered mistaken in stating that the book known to him was also the 'Gospel according to the Apostles,' which term has been thought—on the evidence of Origen—to

¹ Dunkerley himself inclines to this view.

belong rather to the Ebionite Gospel. The fact that each of these two books was in Aramaic would sufficiently explain the use of the phrases 'the Hebrew Gospel' and 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews' of each of them."¹

Again various theories have been offered in solution of the problem : the simplest is expressed as NG (the Nazarene Gospel) = HG (the Gospel of the Hebrews), EG (the Ebionite Gospel) = TG (the Gospel of the Twelve). A variant of this was suggested by Nicholson,² who thought that EG was an heretical edition of HG, which would of course help to account for the confusion in names.

Some scholars, however, have not been satisfied that the two-text theory can account for all the facts, and various three-text hypotheses have been propounded. We may take note of three of these.

The first is that of Vernon Bartlet,³ that besides the Ebionite Gospel we ought to distinguish two others—"one used by Clement and the stricter Jews of Alexandria, and the other by Origen, Eusebius, Jerome and Palestinian Christians." The reason being that Clement knew no Aramaic and must therefore have been familiar with a Greek version, while Jerome, who made a translation from the Aramaic nearly two hundred years later, does not appear to have been aware that his task had been anticipated. On this hypothesis we should have HG= TG, NG and EG.

The second theory is Schmidtke's,⁴ who equates HG with EG, and thinks that TG is "an entirely separate and Gnostic work." He therefore gives HG=EG, NG and TG.

Finally, we have the view of Waitz,⁵ followed by Findlay and Moffat, who consent to Bartlet's distinction between

¹ Dunkerley, *op. cit.*

² *The Gospel according to the Hebrews.*

³ *Contemporary Review*, Jan. 1905, p. 121.

⁴ *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxxvii, 1.

⁵ *ZNTW*, xiii, p. 338 f.; xiv, p. 38 f., 117. f.

HG and NG, but prefer the usual identification of EG with TG against Schmidtke. They propose HG, NG and EG=TG.

It will be seen from the foregoing how very complex is the problem of *Hebrews*, and this almost entirely due to the insufficiency of the material as at present known. In order to make a further advance of any kind it is essential that new evidence should be forthcoming.

Must we then wait until some fortunate chance brings the lost Gospel to light? The writer has been studying the subject for the last fifteen years and does not think so. The first step towards definite progress, obviously, is to take account of the chief obstacle which bars the way, and to endeavour to remove it. Postulating for the moment only one Gospel "according to the Hebrews," it will be generally admitted that the principal desideratum has been a framework into which to fit the fragments. For although, in many cases, contexts found in the Synoptics—particularly in *Matthew*—are given or may reasonably be conjectured, we know nothing at all about the greater part of *Hebrews*; nor, apart from its traditional association with the canonical Matthew and the statement of its length in the *Stichometry of Nicephorus*, have we any clue to its contents and arrangement. Where, for instance, should we place the curious saying: "Just now my mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs, and carried me off to the great mountain Tabor?" It is usually associated with the Temptation in the Wilderness, but the suggestion is very uncertain and inconclusive. Durkerley is no happier in regarding the words "my mother" as vocative, and placing the incident in the childhood of Jesus.

Clearly the Gentile Christian tradition alone affords insufficient help towards determining the structure of

Hebrews, and we must seek assistance elsewhere. The obvious direction in which to turn is to Jewish and Jewish Christian tradition. "We must go to Moses," as Disraeli says in the play. Judaism was in close contact with primitive Christianity, particularly with Jewish Christianity, and it would seem more natural to expect the knowledge of a Hebrew Gospel to persist in Hebrew circles. Are there then no Jewish records to help us? the simple answer to this question is, there exists an ancient Jewish "Life of Jesus."

2

In 1874 a book was published from the pen of the Rev. S. Baring-Gould with the unusual title *The Lost and Hostile Gospels : An Essay on the Toldoth Jeshu and the Petrine and Pauline Gospels of the First Three Centuries of which Fragments Remain*. The work is of little critical value, but it is worthy of mention because of its association—for the first time in the English language¹—of the Jewish and Christian apocryphal Gospels within the covers of one volume. Unfortunately, the author was insufficiently acquainted with the Jewish versions of the Life of Jesus to recognize any connection between the two parts of his book, otherwise the present study might have been anticipated by considerably more than half a century. For Baring-Gould, as it must be admitted for many subsequent writers, the *Toldoth Jeshu* was a mediæval compilation unworthy of serious consideration "the voice of an oppressed people execrating him who had sprung from the holy race, and whose blood was weighing on their heads."²

Certainly no scholar would be found to-day endorsing the extravagant statement of Voltaire : "The *Toldoth Jeshu* is

¹ R. Clemens, *Jesus von Nazareth*, Stuttgart, 1850, has a similar association.

² Baring-Gould, p. 74.

the oldest Jewish writing which has been handed down to us against our religion. It is a life of Jesus Christ, altogether different from our Holy Gospels : it appears to be of the first century, and written prior to the Gospels."¹ Yet the great satirist is less in error than those who choose to see nothing more in this Jewish counter-Gospel than the product of mediæval persecutions devoid of all historical importance. Klausner, for instance, says, "The most superficial reading of this book serves to prove that we have here nothing beyond a piece of folklore . . . the book contains no history worth the name."² And more recently, Jack describes it as "a book of twenty-four pages, containing absurd legends of Jesus which originated in the Middle Ages."³

As against these sweeping statements the monumental work of Samuel Krauss,⁴ without which no critical investigation of the subject may be attempted, has made it clear beyond all contradiction that the purest form of the text is at least as old as the fifth century, while certain elements are very much earlier. It is a great pity that there is no English edition of Krauss' work. He himself was not in a position to do full justice to the material which he so painstakingly put together, as he would be the first to admit, and for thirty-five years the problem has remained practically at the same stage as where he left off. Recently he has returned to the subject and provided some further helpful material in a series of articles, to which also Professor Heller has contributed.⁵ Only one English scholar⁶ has made any extensive use of Krauss' studies, and he chose rather to set

¹ *Lettres sur les Juifs* (*Œuvres*, i, 69, p. 36).

² *Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 51.

³ *The Historic Christ* (1933), p. 19.

⁴ *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen*, Berlin, 1902.

⁵ *MGWJ*, vol. 76, no. 6 ; vol. 77, nos. 1-2 (1932-1933).

⁶ G. R. S. Mead, *Did Jesus Live 100 B.C.?* London, 1903.

forth the facts in all their intricacy than to contribute much towards their elucidation.

There is room, therefore, for a fresh consideration of all the material, and for an attempt to be made to discover the source or sources of the *Toldoth* compilation.

The tradition of the life and teaching of Jesus, of which the Catholic Church is the repository is in the main a Greek tradition, and, although dependent on the transmitted statements of the Jewish disciples it has been coloured to suit non-Jewish needs. It is with the Hellenic tradition as set forth in the canonical New Testament that Christian scholars have chiefly and very naturally concerned themselves, and where the distinctive tradition of the Jewish believers has been investigated it has been with a noticeably adverse bias.

Admittedly, the records of the Jewish tradition are very fragmentary, and have come down to us for the most part in the writings of alien, unsympathetic, and frequently very ill-informed individuals. Allowance has also to be made for the absence of a *canon* which could safeguard the original texts from accretions and general manipulation to suit the more eccentric ideas which changing fortunes imposed on the Nazarene and Ebionite communities. But in spite of these handicaps it is possible by patient and unprejudiced research to restore many of the lacunae so that the story can be read as a connected whole. And this is mainly due to the proofs I have to offer that the neglected—indeed despised—*Toldoth Yeshu* will be found on serious examination to supply a most important witness to the structure of the lost *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.

I had already, ten years ago, alluded to the possibilities of such a theory when I stated as my opinion that "the original *Toldoth Yeshu* was a counterblast to the *Gospel*

according to the Hebrews (Ev. Heb.). This is all the more likely when it is remembered that it was the Jewish custom to name their books from the opening words. Thus Exodus is in Hebrew *Shemoth* from the opening words of this book '*we-eleh shemoth.*' The title *Toldoth Yeshu*¹ (Generations of Jesus) must then have been taken from a book beginning with these words. The only known Gospel which does so is of course *Matthew*, which opens with: 'The book of the Generations of Jesus.' Now it was commonly held that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was the lost Hebrew Gospel of Matthew; and it is possible that if this work should ever be recovered entire, it will show itself to be the basis of many of the *Toldoth* stories."²

These remarks may be taken as the embryo from which the present fully-fledged treatise has developed. The suggestion so eminently reasonable and natural once it was put forward has proved a veritable Ariadne's thread. And it has led to practical results of a most illuminating character, supported by a weight of confirmatory evidence that cannot lightly be set aside.

I have said that the theory is reasonable and natural, and this may easily be judged from the following considerations. The Nazarenes who adhered to the Hebrew Gospel were less an heretical Christian sect than an heretical Jewish sect. The Church Fathers, with few exceptions, knew very little about them, mere hearsay for the most part. Yet Irenaeus' categorical statements about the Jewish Christians have been continuously repeated down to the present time as if they represented the proven testimony of a well-

¹ In Hebrew *Sepher Toldoth Yeshua*. The du Tillet Hebrew MS. of Matthew (Heb. MSS. No. 132 in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris) is even nearer, for it commences with the words *Eleh Toldoth Yeshu*. See Schonfield, *An Old Hebrew Text of Matthew's Gospel*, Edinburgh, 1927.

² *The Quest*, Jan. 1927. *Some Jottings on the Slavonic Josephus*.

informed authority. But even taking his assertions at their face-value,¹ they show that the Jewish Christians preferred to live as Jews.

The Talmud establishes that contact between these Jewish Christians and the orthodox Jews was maintained for several centuries, and it cannot be supposed that during this long period the Jewish Christians failed to make those of their own nation acquainted with the text of the Gospel which set forth in their own tongue the claims of Jesus to be the expected Messiah. We know, indeed, that they were not dilatory in this respect, not only because the rabbis denounce the Minim (Jewish Sectaries) and their books, under which denomination Jewish Christians were included; but also because the *Evangelion* is several times mentioned by name, in one instance with a quotation for which canonical Matthew offers the only known parallel. Further, we have the statement of Epiphanius, made on the authority of certain Jewish converts, that Hebrew renderings of the Gospel of John and the Acts of the Apostles, as also "the Gospel of Matthew which was originally Hebrew," were to be found among the Jewish archives at Tiberias. We shall have to consider the implications of this reference later on; here it is merely put forward as Christian evidence that the Jews were in possession of "evangelical" documents. Finally, it is to be noted that many of the *Toldoth* stories are centred at Tiberias, which in the third and fourth centuries was the home of Jewish learning in Palestine and the place of residence of the Jewish Patriarch.

There is no intrinsic improbability, therefore, in the proposition that the *Toldoth Jeshu* drew its inspiration from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.

¹ *Adv. Haer.* I, xxvi, 2. "The Ebionites . . . practise circumcision, persevere in the observance of those customs which are enjoined by the Law, and are so Judaic in their manner of life, that they even adore Jerusalem as if it were the House of God."

Krauss' sober judgment on the counter-Gospel does not conflict with this view. "The Jewish 'Life of Jesus'," he says, "right the way through neither disfigures nor distorts the Gospel facts, but with the best will in the world exhibits them in the light in which they appear to the Jewish—and we admit, biased—observer. If this were not the case, that is to say, if the *Toldoth* was merely a conglomeration of distorted and misrepresented Gospel facts, then would it, indeed, be nothing else but the lampoon for which many distinguished persons have taken it, and therefore hardly worthy of notice. But in reality it is an apologetic and polemical writing, which certainly assails but does not abuse, and asserts without execrating. How, otherwise, could it happen that the *Toldoth* also mentions things which do not appear at all in the Gospels, if its objects was only to abuse, misrepresent and distort? Why should it introduce Messianic proofs, without confuting them? The *Toldoth* follows in the footsteps of the Gospels; it lets the stories stand, against which it has no objection to offer; others, which appear differently in a Jewish light, or for which there is a divergent Jewish conception, are represented accordingly; they are, so to speak, removed from the sphere of Christian potency, and rendered innocuous, or even advantageous, for Jewry."¹

It should be understood, of course, that Krauss is speaking of the *Toldoth Jeshu* in its simplest and earliest form, not of the garbled and fantastic versions of later times which have proved so misleading to many scholars.

The *Toldoth* is then a polemical work in Gospel form agreeing in many places with the Synoptics, but also containing independent material including certain additional Old Testament Messianic proof texts. As will be shown

¹ *LXXQ.* pp. 134-135.

hereafter it does not appear to be a compilation from several Christian sources, but rather to rely for its information on a single work which it adapts when necessary to suit the Jewish point of view, leaving, as Krauss remarks, those parts of the narrative considered unobjectionable untouched. It is, in effect, a parody of an uncanonical Gospel of Synoptic type.

If it can further be shown that this uncanonical Gospel is *Hebrews*, then by a critical examination of the text it should be possible substantially to restore the structure of the lost Nazarene Gospel as it existed in the fourth century.

The immediate consequences of such a desirable result would be that for the first time accurate comparisons could be instituted between *Hebrews* and both the canonical and apocryphal Gospels ; many of the unplaced fragments still extant could be given their probable setting ; and much light would be thrown on the doctrinal beliefs of the little-known Nazarene communities. We might even find ourselves in possession of some new and important historical data on the life of Christ.

But we may go even further, for the late Professor Bacon has put forward the theory, by inductive reasoning from the patristic evidence, that an Ebionite "Acts of the Apostles," formed a part of *Hebrews*, which was thus "a revised Luke-Acts."¹ Now it is certainly remarkable to find traces of such an "Acts of the Apostles" attached to the *Toldoth Yeshu*. The Lukan Acts is concerned with the founding of the Church among the Gentiles ; it only takes note of the Hebrew Church as a necessary starting point, and where the liberty of the Gentile Christians or the life of their Apostle, St. Paul, is effected. But surely in postulating a

¹ *Studies in Matthew*, appended note vi, *Matthew and the Jewish-Christian Gospels*, p. 494.

Hebrew "Acts," there is no need to argue dependence on Luke on the ground of a fancied polemic in favour of James the Lord's brother. Why should not the Nazarenes have compiled an account of the progress of their movement? And why should not this have been quite independent of Luke's narrative? James would naturally have an important place in this document, and Bacon may be right in conjecturing that the *Ascents of James* reflected in the Clementines formed a part of the work.

The existence of a Jerusalem tradition is established by Hegesippus' *Memoirs*, and by passages in Clement of Alexandria's *Outlines* and Papias' *Exegesis*. We learn of the death of James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, of the family of Philip, of the election and martyrdom of James the Just, and of his successor Simeon, the son of Cleophas, the names of the subsequent Jewish bishops of Jerusalem, the death of Peter's wife, the arrest of the grandsons of Jude, and other matters to which no reference is made in the Lukan Acts. Even Paul mentions Christ's post-resurrection appearance to James, which on Bacon's showing formed the introduction to the Hebrew "Acts." It is more reasonable to suppose that Luke drew his information about the Jerusalem incidents from the Jerusalem tradition. So that dependence, if any, would be on the other side.

From all these considerations, then, there is found to be a real necessity to examine closely the Jewish traditions concerning early Christianity, and in particular the *Toldoth Yeshu*, and to relate the information obtained to the patristic and other records dealing with the Gospel and history of the Nazarenes.

CHAPTER I

THE DOCUMENTS

The name *Toldoth Yeshu* (Generations of Jesus) as a title to the various texts of the Jewish counter-Gospel is perhaps the best established, though another title *Maaseh Yeshu* (History of Jesus) runs it very close. This latter title is probably the work *Mar mar Yeshu* condemned by the Antipope Benedict XIII in a Bull of May 11, 1451.

The texts are contained in a number of Hebrew, Aramaic and Yiddish MSS., few of them earlier than the sixteenth century. Versions have also been printed in Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae* (Altdorf: 1681), and Huldreich's *Historia Ieschua Nazareni* (Leyden: 1705). For the comparative lateness of the texts the Christian censorship must be held responsible. The fires of persecution and bigoted hatred were hungry for so blasphemous a piece of literature. It is rather a wonder that the work should have survived at all, and it must often have been rewritten from memory and suitably embellished, which accounts for the involved and fanciful nature of many of the versions, in which all historic sense is lost and hatred is answered with hatred and bitter mockery.

One of the earliest known references to a written text is that of Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, in his *Epistola . . . De Judaicis Superstitionibus* (c. 826), in which he summarizes one version of the *Toldoth*, and adds: "Now all these things their elders have so garbled, and they themselves read them over and over again with such foolish

stubbornness, that by such fictions the whole truth of the virtue and passion of Christ is made void."

Almost contemporary with Agobard is a reference to another form of the *Toldoth* by Amulo, his successor in the same see, in his *Epistola, seu Liber contra Judæos, ad Carolum Regem* (c. 847).

Later, in the thirteenth century, we have a fairly lengthy quotation from the *Toldoth* by Raymund Martini, a Spanish Dominican, in his *Pugio Fidei* under the heading *Fabula de Christi Miraculis Judaica, id est Maligna*. Martini is followed by Porchetti de Salvaticis, a Portuguese Carthusian, a century later in a work entitled *Victoria Porcheti adversus impios Hebraeos* (ed. by Justiniani, Paris : 1520). Luther gave a German rendering under the heading *Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi* (*Werke*, Wittenberg : 1566).

It will be seen, therefore, that from at least the ninth century onward the *Toldoth Jeshu*, in one form or another, was widely known in Europe. In other lands fragments have been recovered from the Cairo Geniza, from Yemen, and from Bokhara. The early Karaites knew it, and it was very familiar to the Jews of the gaonic age. This widespread distribution of texts is a cogent argument against the *Toldoth* being merely a product of mediæval persecution, however much local versions may have been influenced by Christian ill-usage. The original form of the *Toldoth* proper is certainly no later than the fifth century, and is probably at least a century earlier. We may leave the discussion of date, however, to its proper place.

We come now to the classification of the texts. In Krauss' work a very rough classification is provided by Dr. E. Bischoff. The list of MSS. is incomplete, as others have since come to light, but it is sufficient for all practical

purposes. We do not propose to describe each MS. as those who are interested in these technical details can easily consult Krauss on the subject. Bischoff distinguishes five types of text.

1. TYPE WAGENSEIL

This type is placed first because it is the best known (6 MSS.). All the texts in this group are allied to Wagenseil's printed edition. The most complete is certainly the Hebrew Codex in the University Library of Strasburg (S.). Practically identical with S. so far as it goes is a fragment from Bokhara (P.) and a Yiddish MS. Rawlinson in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (B.) is also closely associated.

2. TYPE DE ROSSI

This type is placed second because it resembles Type 1. It consists of 6 MSS., and takes its name from (R.) the de Rossi Hebrew Codex in the Royal Library at Parma. Its best representative is the Hebrew MS. in the Israel Theological Academy at Vienna, Codex Vindobona (V.).

3. TYPE HULDREICH

This group is placed third because Huldreich's was the next printed after that of Wagenseil. There are 2 MSS., both copied from Huldreich's printed edition. The text presents considerable differences from Types 1 and 2, with a number of mediæval legendary embellishments.

4. TYPE MODERN SLAVONIC

This shows evidence of a knowledge of both the foregoing types of text (4 MSS.). The group is very degraded in text, and of no historical value whatever.

5. TYPE CAIRO

This group is placed last because least known, and consists of six fragments from the Geniza (lumber-room) of the Old Synagogue at Cairo now in the Shechter collection at Oxford. All the fragments are in Aramaic, the first three amounting only to a few words. The longer fragments are connected with Type 3.

When the manuscripts are studied carefully it is evident that Bischoff's grouping is arbitrary, and is of small service in determining the true nature of the texts. Types 1 and 2 reflect the same basic document. Types 3 and 5 represent another version, with substantial borrowings from 1 and 2, while Type 4 is a conflation of the other four.

There are essentially only two types, the *Toldoth* proper, a Hebrew document with some Aramaisms, and what may be called the *Toldoth Katon* (or minor *Toldoth*), a short and later Aramaic document.

The Toldoth Yeshu

This is the major document. Its best representative is the Strasburg Codex, with which Martini's thirteenth-century quotation verbally agrees. The Bokhara fragment also is substantially in agreement, and Wagenseil's text, together with a number of others is closely allied. This is the document on which our thesis is based, and of which we give an English translation from Krauss' critical text.

The Toldoth Minor

This document can hardly be described as a Gospel, and rather resembles the sectional Passion stories in Christian apocrypha. It consists of curious floating legends about Jesus current among the Jews of the East in the seventh and

eightth century. The text is connected in certain details with the Passion and Resurrection narratives of the *Toldoth* proper, and some use was made of it by the compiler of Hildreith's version. It is supported by the Cairo fragments, and by Agobard ; it was also familiar to Shemtob ibn Shaprut, who is an important witness to both documents. A translation and discussion will be found below in Chapter XIV.

Shemtob ibn Shaprut was a Jewish polemical writer who flourished in the late fourteenth century in Spain. His principal controversial work was *Eben Buchen* (The Touchstone). In this he gives a Hebrew version of the Gospel of Matthew, and also a brief outline of the two *Toldoth* documents. He prefaces his statement with the following remarks :

Behold, ye find among them (the Jews) many books that treat of them (the miracles and wonders of Jesus) ; for instance the work which was composed as a History of Jesus the Nazarene, and took place in the time of Queen Helene, and again the work composed in the Jerusalem dialect as an account of Jesus bar Pandera, which gives the time as that of Tiberius Caesar.

Shemtob's first document, as is clear from his description, was our *Toldoth Jeshu*, while his second document is our *Toldoth Minor*. Although he alludes to many books, these were evidently only variant versions of the two principal types, as given above, and our textual problem is greatly simplified by recognizing this clear-cut distinction.

The Strasburg Codex of the *Toldoth* translated in the next chapter is entitled " The History of Jesus the Nazarene," and this is the title given by Shemtob to his first document.

It is evidently from the contents the same text, as it is also the same as that of Martini. It is satisfactory to know that the document we are translating and on which our thesis depends existed in writing in almost identical verbal form at least as far back as the twelfth century, and was even then a work of some note and antiquity.

For convenience of reference the text has been divided into chapters and verses ; the liberty has also been taken of omitting the description of the seduction of Mary, of which the purport is made clear in the discussion but of which the details might be offensive to the orthodox reader. The Old Testament references are given in the margin, while omissions and additions are indicated by brackets. Plain brackets have been employed for omissions, single square brackets for extraneous matter in the text, and double square brackets for late additions. The distinguishing of interpolations is, of course, according to the judgment of the translator based on his own researches.

The texts employed for the variant readings are : W. Codex Hebr. B.H. 27 Leipzig State Library, and Wagen-seil's printed version ; P. (Persian), the fragment from Bokhara ; and B. (Bodleian), the Yiddish MS. Rawlinson Or. 37 Bodleian Library at Oxford.

The language of the Authorized Version has been followed as far as possible in order to preserve the same atmosphere as the Gospels, and for purposes of comparison, and the same applies to the rendering of many of the proper names.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF JESUS THE NAZARENE

(According to the Hebrew Codex Strasburg)

Chap. i.

1 The beginning of the birth of Jesus.¹

2 His mother was Mary (a daughter)² of Israel.

3 And she had a betrothed of the kingly seed, of the house of David ;³ and his name was John.

4 And he was learned in the law, and feared heaven greatly.

5 Now over against the door of her house (there dwelt a man) of fair appearance (a warrior), Joseph the son of Pandera : he cast his eyes upon her.

(Seven verses are here omitted which relate the seduction of Mary by Joseph, she being under the impression that he was her betrothed, until he came in later, and the mistake was discovered.)

13 When he heard this, straightway he perceived that Joseph the son of Pandera had cast his eyes upon her, and that he had done this deed. He left her. . . .

¹ W. begins : " In the six hundred and seventy-first year of the fourth millen-
nium (i. e. 90 B.C.), in the days of Jannaeus the king, a great misfortune happened to
Israel, when there arose a certain idle and adulterous man from the fallen stock of
the tribe of Judah, whose name was Joseph Pandera. . . . He lived at Bethlehem of
Judah. Now nigh unto his house dwelt a widow, and she had a daughter called

² W. adds " the daughter of Hannah of the land of Galilee."

³ W. substitutes " of the tribe of Judah."

14 (He rose early)¹ and went unto Rabban Simeon the son of Shetach.

15 He said unto him, Know then (what hath befallen)² me this night with my betrothed.

(One verse omitted which briefly repeats the seduction story.)

17 Rabban Simeon the son of Shetach said unto him, Who was laid on thine heart? He saith unto him, The son of Pandera, for he is nigh unto her house and a seeker after fornication.

18 He saith unto him, I know that thou hast no witnesses in this matter, therefore keep silence, I counsel thee; if he have entered once, then it must be that he will enter a second time. That time do thou act according to thy wisdom, and let witnesses watch him.

19 After some time it was noised abroad³ that Mary was with child.

20 Then said John her betrothed, Not by me is she with child. Shall I abide here and hear my reproach every day from the children of men. So he went away to Babylon.

21 And after (some time she bore)⁴ a son, and they called his name Jesus after the name of his mother's brother, [[but after his despicableness was revealed they called him Jesu]].

22 His mother brought him before a teacher⁵ that he might become [enlightened (in the Halacha)⁶] learned in the law [and the Talmud].

¹ S. defective; the restoration is from P.

² S. defective; the restoration is from P.

³ P. adds "in the city."

⁴ S. defective; the restoration is from P.

⁵ W. adds "whose name was Elkanan."

⁶ S. defective; the restoration is from P.

23 [[Now it was a custom of the disciples of the wise that neither youth nor lad should pass by the way without his head being covered and his eyes toward the ground out of respect of disciples for their masters.

24 But on a certain day that wicked one passed by while the rabbis were seated in a body at the gate of the synagogue, for so they called the assembly for searching the scriptures ; that wicked one did pass by in front of our masters with erect stature and uncovered head, saluting no one, but with shameless forehead exposing himself to his master.

25 Then answered one of them, and said, He is a bastard. And another said, Both a bastard and the son of a woman in her separation.]]

26 Now on a certain day the rabbis were debating [the tractate *Nezikin*]¹; then began he to utter *halachoth*² before them.

27 Then said one of them unto him, Hast thou not heard that everyone that speaketh an *halacha* in the presence of his master is worthy of death ?

28 He saith to that wise man, Who is the master, and who is the disciple? And whether of the twain is wiser, Moses or Jethro? Was it not Moses, the father of the prophets and chief of the wise men.³ Moreover the law witnesseth concerning him : And there arose not since in Israel a prophet like unto Moses.

29 Withal Jethro was an alien . . . yet he dictated to Moses right conduct, according to the saying :

¹ I.e. *Damages*, a talmudic tractate dealing with the civil code.

² I.e. legal theological decisions.

³ P. "father of the wise men and chief of the prophets."

Exod.
xviii, 21

And set over them rulers of thousands and rulers of hundreds.

30 But if ye therefore say that Jethro was greater than Moses (then would there be an end)¹ to his greatness.

31 Now when the wise men heard this, they said, Since he is so very shameless, let us make inquisition concerning him.

32 They sent to his mother, saying, Tell us, who was the father of this lad ?

33 She answered and said, (He is the son of my husband John, who hath left me and gone away to Babylon, and I know not what hath become of him).²

34 They answered her, saying . . . [[How do they witness concerning him that he is a bastard and the son of a woman in her separation]] ?

35 Then answered Rabban Simeon the son of Shetach, This day is it thirty years since John her betrothed came unto me ; at that time said he, Thus and thus hath befallen me.

36 And what Rabban Simeon answered John, and how for great shame he left her and went to Babylon and returned no more.³

37 And this Mary hath borne this Jesus.

38 And there is no judgment of death upon her, for she did it not wittingly ; but Joseph the son of Pandera sought occasion for fornication every day.

39 Now when she heard from Rabban Simeon that there was no judgment of death for her, then answered she also and said, So was the matter, and she declared it.

¹ S. defective ; the restoration is from P.

² S. defective ; the restoration is from P.

³ P. ends here.

40 But after the saying concerning Jesus was spread abroad ; [[for they said of him, he is a bastard and the son of a woman in her separation and worthy of death]], he went forth and fled¹ to Jerusalem.²

Chap. ii.

1³ Now the rule of all Israel was in the hand of a woman, and her name was Helene.⁴

2 And in the temple was the foundation-stone [which, being interpreted, is Jah-founded-it, and this is the stone which Jacob anointed with oil] ; and on it were graven the letters of the Ineffable Name.

3 And whosoever learned them could do whatsoever he would.

4 But whereas the wise men feared that the young men of Israel would learn them, and thereby destroy the world, they took steps that it should not be possible to learn them.

5 Dogs⁵ of brass were bound to two pillars of iron at the gate of the place of burnt-offerings, so that whosoever entered and learnt the letters, as soon as he went forth the dogs bayed at him : if he then looked at them the letters went forth from his mind.

6 Then came Jesus and learned them, and wrote upon parchment and cut open his thigh and laid the parchment with those letters therein ; so that the cutting of his flesh pained him not. And he restored the flesh to its place.

7 And as he went forth the dogs of the pillars

¹ B. " from Tiberias."

² W. " Upper Galilee."

³ Martini's quotation begins here.

⁴ W. adds " the wife of King Jannacus, who reigned after him."

⁵ W. " lions."

bayed at him, and the letters went forth from his mind.

8 He went into his house, and cut into his flesh with a knife, and lifted out the writing and learnt the letters.

9 Then went he forth and gathered together three hundred and ten of the young men of Israel.

10 He saith unto them, See ye them which say concerning me, [[a bastard and son of a woman in her separation]] ; they desire greatness for themselves and seek to exercise lordship in Israel.

11 Have ye not seen that all the prophets prophesied concerning the Messiah of God, and I am the Messiah.

Isa. vii,
14 12 And concerning me Isaiah prophesied, and said, Behold, the virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.

Psa. ii,
7 13 And, again, David my ancestor prophesied concerning me, and said, The Lord said unto me, Thou art my son ; this day have I begotten thee.

14 He begat me without a male lying with (my mother) ; yet they call me a bastard.

Psa. ii,
1-2 15 And again he prophesied, Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing ? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed.

Hos. ii,
4 16 I am the Messiah, and them that withstand me are the children of whoredoms, for so saith the scripture, For they be the children of whoredoms.

17 Then answered him the young men, If thou art the Messiah, show unto us a sign.

18 He saith unto them, What sign seek ye of me that I should do for you ?

19 Straightway they brought unto him a lame man, that never yet had stood upon his feet. He spake over him the letters, and he rose up upon his feet.

20 In that hour they all worshipped him, and said, This is the Messiah.¹

21 Again he performed for them another sign.

22 They brought unto him a leper, and he spake over him the letters,² and he was healed.

Dan. xi,
14

23 There joined themselves unto him the insurgents³ of his people.⁴

Chap. iii.

1 Now when the wise men saw that all were believing in him, straightway they bound him fast and led him before Helene the queen, under whose hand was the land of Israel.

2 They said unto her, This man is a sorcerer, and he deceiveth the world.

Isa. xi,
1

3 Jesus answering her, saith, The prophets aforetime prophesied concerning me, And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and I am he. But concerning them the scripture saith,⁵

Psa. i,
1

Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly.

¹ W. "the son of the Highest."

² B. adds "and laid his hand upon him."

³ B. "full three hundred of the wicked of Israel, brigands and transgressors."

⁴ Here follows in W. a long passage, relating how the news of the doings of Jesus was brought to Jerusalem, and the Sanhedrin decided to effect his capture. They send messengers to him, Annani and Ahaziah, feigning to be his disciples, and bidding him on behalf of the leading citizens of Jerusalem to come to them. Jesus agrees on condition that the members of the Sanhedrin come out to receive him and acknowledge him as their lord. The elders decide to humour him, and Jesus sets forth immediately. On arriving at Nob, he asks for an ass, and rides into Jerusalem proclaiming his act as a fulfilment of Zechariah's prophecy. The elders accuse him before the queen, but she being related to him by blood asks to see him in order to save him out of their hands. They try to dissuade her, relating the story of his shameful birth and how he obtained possession of the Ineffable Name.

⁵ B. "king David."

4 She saith unto them,¹ Is it in your law, what he saith ?

Deut.
xviii,
20-xix,
19

5 They say, It is in our law, but it was not spoken concerning him² : for it is written, And that prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die. And thou shalt put away the evil from among you.

Isa. xi,
4

6 But the Messiah whom we expect, with him are other signs, and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth. But with this bastard the signs are not present.

7 Jesus said unto her, Lady, I am he,³ and I revive the dead.

8 She sent for faithful men bringing with them a dead body. He spake the letters and the dead revived.

9 In that hour the queen trembled, and said, It is a great sign.

10 She rebuked the wise men, and they went forth from her presence shamefaced, and they were sore distressed.

11 The insurgents increased⁴ and were with him, and there was a great schism in Israel.

12 Jesus went forth to Upper Galilee.⁵ And the wise men assembled and came before the queen, and said unto her, Lady, he practiseth sorcery and therewith he leadeth the world astray.

13 Therefore she sent horsemen⁶ on his account,

¹ B. "the queen saith unto the wise men and elders of Israel."

² B. "concerning such a man as Jesus."

³ B. adds "the Messiah."

⁴ B. "insurgents and wrongdoers of Israel."

⁵ B. "and Jesus arose and went forth with all the men who were gathered unto him."

⁶ W. "Annani and Ahaziah, worthy men of the lesser Sanhedrin."

and they found him as he was misleading the men of Upper Galilee, and saying to them, I am the son of God of whom it is written in your law.¹

14 The horsemen rose up therefore to take him, but the men of Upper Galilee would not suffer them, and began to fight.

15 Jesus saith unto them, Fight not, but trust ye in the power of my Father which is in heaven.

16 Now the men of Galilee were making birds of clay. And he spake the letters of the Ineffable Name and they flapped their wings. The same hour they fell down before him.

17 He said unto them, Bring ye me a millstone : they rolled it to the sea shore. And he spake the letters, and set it upon the face of the waters, and and sat thereon as one sitteth in a boat, and went and floated upon the face of the waters.

18 And they that were sent² saw it and wondered.

19 And Jesus said unto the horsemen, Go unto your mistress, and tell her what ye have seen. Then the spirit lifted him up from the face of the waters and brought him to the dry land.³

20 So the horsemen departed and reported all these things to the queen. And the queen trembled and was greatly amazed.

21 And she sent and gathered together the elders of Israel, and said unto them, Ye say that he is a sorcerer,⁴ yet daily he reneweth great signs.

22 Then said they to her, Lady, lay not his affairs

¹ H, adds " thou art my son ; this day have I begotten thee."

² H, adds " from the wise men of Israel."

³ H, omits " then the spirit . . . dry land."

⁴ H, adds " he is indeed the son of God."

to heart. Send messengers and bring him now and his reproach shall be made plain.

23 In the same hour she sent messengers, and there were joined with him his wicked company, and they came with him before the queen.

24 Then went the elders of Israel and took a certain man whose name was Judas Iscariot, and brought him into the house of the holy of holies ; and he learned the letters of the Ineffable Name which were engraved on the foundation stone, and wrote them upon a small parchment, cut open his thigh and spake the Ineffable Name that it pained not even as Jesus had done at the first.

Ps. xxii,
17

25 As soon as Jesus with his company had returned before the queen, and she had bidden the wise men attend, Jesus answered and said, Of me it was prophesied and said, For dogs compassed me about.¹

Isa. xiv,
13
Ps. xlix,
15

26 When the wise men entered and Judas Iscariot with them, they began vehemently to accuse him, and he them, until he said to the queen, Of me it was said,² I will ascend unto heaven ; and it is written, For he shall receive me. Selah.³

27 Then lifted he up his hands as the wings of an eagle and did fly, and the world was amazed before him, How is he able to fly between heaven and earth !

28 Then said the elders of Israel to Judas Iscariot, Do thou make mention of the letters and ascend after him.

¹ B. adds " the assembly of the wicked, and of me he said, Be not afraid of their faces " (*Jer. i, 8*).

² B. " said David the king."

³ Here follows in W. a short dialogue between Jesus and Judas, who quote texts against each other.

29 And straightway he did so, and flew in the heavens, and the world was amazed, How are they able to fly like eagles!

30 Until Iscariot gripped him and flew in the heavens ; but he was not able to force him down to the earth, neither one the other by means of the Ineffable Name ; for the Ineffable Name was with each of them.

31 Now when Judas saw that it was so, he acted foully¹ and polluted Jesus, so that he became unclean and fell to the earth, and Judas also with him. [[And for this deed they weep bitterly on their night, yea, for the deed that Judas did to him.]]

32 In that hour they seized him, and said unto Helene (the queen) . . . Let him be destroyed . . .² Let him tell us who smote him.

33 And they covered his head with a garment and smote him with pomegranate staves, and as he knew not a word, it was seen that the Ineffable Name had departed from him.

34 Now as he was fast in their hands, he answered and said to his fellows before the queen, Concerning me it was said, Who will rise up for me against the the evil-doers ? And of them he said, The proud waters. Yea, of them he said, They have made their faces harder than a rock.

35 When the queen heard this she threatened the insurgents, and said to the wise men of Israel, See, he is in your hands.³

¹ Multa "he acted foully." W. adds "against Jesus."

² Text defective.

³ Here follows in W. a long passage. The disciples fight with the elders (see S. above iii, 42-43) and enable Jesus to make his escape. He bathes in Jordan and repeats the use of the Ineffable Name, and repeats his former miracles. He causes a millstone to float (see S. above iii, 17) and catches fishes for the multitude. The

36 And they went forth from the presence of the queen, and brought him into [the synagogue of] Tiberias,¹ and bound him to a pillar [of the ark].

37 Then gathered together the company of fools

report comes to the wise men, and Judas offers to go and bring him to justice. He mingles in disguise among the followers of Jesus, and when God has made him fall into a deep sleep, Judas enters his tent, cuts open his skin, and removes the parchment. Jesus awakens and becomes aware of his loss. The rest of the passage may be translated literally, as follows :

"Wherefore he said to his disciples, Know that my heavenly Father desireth to receive me because he seeth that I have no honour among men. Then say his disciples unto him, and what is to become of us ? He saith unto them, Blessed are ye and blessed is your portion if ye hearken to my voice, for ye shall sit at my right hand with my heavenly Father. Then they all lifted up their voices and wept. But Jesus saith unto them, Weep not, for there is a reward for your deeds ; only beware lest ye transgress my words. Then answered they, and said, Whatsoever thou commandest we will do, and whosoever shall be disobedient to thy words, let him die. Then said Jesus unto them, If ye will indeed hearken to my voice, ye will show me favour and truth. As ye go with me to Jerusalem, I will disguise myself and go among you that the men of Jerusalem may not know me. These things spake Jesus deceitfully, that he might go to Jerusalem in secret and enter into the temple and learn the Name. But they knew not that his thought was of evil, and they all answered and said, All that thou commandest we will do, neither will we turn to the right hand or to the left. And he said, Swear unto me. So they swear unto him from the least to the greatest. Now they knew not that Judas was among them, for he was not recognized. After this Judas said to the disciples, Let us provide for ourselves similar garments, that no one will know who is our master. And the saying was good in their eyes ; and they did so. And they took their way to come to Jerusalem for the feast day, being the feast of unleavened bread. Now when the wise men saw Judas they rejoiced exceedingly, and they said to him. Tell us, we pray thee, all that we should do ; for he had withdrawn secretly from them to come to the elders of the city and the wise men. Then Judas related to them all that had taken place, and how he had obtained the Name from that bastard. Wherefore they rejoiced exceedingly. Then Judas said to them, If ye will obey my voice, on the morrow I will deliver this bastard into your hands. Then said the wise men, Dost thou know his going and coming ? And he said, Of a surety I know it, and, behold, on the morrow he goeth to the temple to sacrifice the sacrifice of the Passover ; but I have sworn unto him by the ten commandments that I will not deliver him into your hands : moreover, he hath with him two thousand men all of them dressed in like garments. Be ye therefore ready on the morrow, and that man before whom I bow down and prostrate myself, that is the bastard. And do ye act like mighty men, do battle with his followers and seize him. Then Simeon the son of Shetach and all the wise men and elders rejoiced with great joy and they agreed to do according to the words of Judas. And it came to pass on the morrow that Jesus came with all his multitude, and Judas came forth before him and bowed down and prostrated himself unto him with his face to the ground. Then all the men of Jerusalem being well-armed and mailed captured Jesus. And when his disciples saw that he was captive in their hands, and that it was in vain to fight, they took to their legs, and lifted up their voices and wept bitterly. And the men of Jerusalem waxed stronger, and conquered the bastard, the son of a woman in her separation, with his multitude, slaying many of them, while the rest fled to the mountains."

¹ B. adds " the city wherein is the great college."

and impious ones which believed on his words, and desired to deliver him from the elders. But they could not, and there was great strife between them.

38 Now when he saw that he had no power to escape, he said, Give me a little water. They gave him vinegar in a copper vessel.

39 He answered and spake with a loud voice, Did not David prophesy concerning me, and say, In my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.

40 On his head they set a crown of thorns, and the insurgents lamented sore, and there began a fight between them, brother with brother, father with son; but the wise men vanquished the insurgents.

41 Then answered he, and said, Of me was it prophesied and said,¹ I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair. And again concerning these the scripture saith, Draw near hither, ye sons of the sorceress. But of me it was said, And we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted. And of me he said, The Messiah shall be cut off, and shall have nothing.

42 And when the insurgents heard this,² they began to stone them with stones, and there was great strife between them.

43 And the elders were confounded, and the insurgents caused him to escape from them, and his three hundred and ten disciples³ brought him into the region of Antioch, and he abode there until the eve of the passover.⁴

¹ B. adds "by Isaiah the prophet."

² B. "his words."

³ B. "120 men and 12 apostates."

⁴ W. reads "then Jesus hastened to Jordan, and bathed and purified himself, and declared again the Name distinctly, and performed the signs as at the first."

Chap. iv.

1 Now in that year the passover fell on a sabbath day.

2 And he came, therefore, with his disciples to Jerusalem on the eve of the passover ; he riding on an ass, and saying to his disciples, Of me it was said,
Zech. ix,
 9 Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion ; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem : behold, thy king cometh unto thee ; he is just, and having salvation ; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.

3 In that same hour they all cried aloud, and bowed down before him.

4 And he entered the temple with his three hundred and ten disciples.

5 Then came one of them whose name was Ga'isa,¹ and said to the wise men, Would you pay off the wicked one ?

6 They say, But where is he to be found ?

7 He saith, He is in the temple. They say unto him, Show us.

8 He saith unto them, We, his three hundred and ten disciples, have already sworn by the ten commandments that we will not say who he is ; but if ye will come in the morning and greet us, I will come and make him obeisance ; and to whom I make obeisance that same is the wicked one : and they did so.

9 And when (they that were with) Jesus were gathered together, they went and greeted (the disciples of) Jesus that were come from all parts to pray on the feast of the passover on the mount of Olives.

10 And when² the wise men had entered into the

¹ B. and W. read " Judas." The name Ga'isa is Aramaic and means thief or robber ; other texts read a Hebrew form Ganiba. Here we may have a clue to the mysterious appellation Iscariot i.e., the Thief (Jno. xii, 6).

² B. adds " Simeon the son of Shetach and the . . ."

temple where those were that came from Antioch, and the wicked one also with them ; then entered Ga'isa with them, left the whole congregation and made obeisance to the wicked Jesus.

11 Immediately the wise men perceived this, they rose up against him, and seized him.

12 [[They say unto him, What is thy name ? He saith unto them, Mathai. They say unto him, How establishest thou this ? He saith unto them, When (*mathai*) shall I come and appear before God ? They say unto him, When (*mathai*) shall he die, and his name perish ?

13 Again they say unto him, What is thy name ? He saith, Naki. They say unto him, How establishest thou this ? He saith, Innocent (*n'ki*) of hands, and pure of heart. They say unto him, The innocent (*nakeh*) he will not clear.

14 Again they say unto him, What is thy name ? He saith, Buni. They say, How establishest thou this ? He saith, My son (*b'ni*) my firstborn, even Israel. They say, Concerning thee it was said, Behold, I will slay thy son (*binchah*), even thy firstborn.

15 And they say again, What is thy name ? He saith, Netser. They say, How establishest thou this ? He saith, A branch (*netser*) shall spring forth from his roots.

They say unto him, Thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch (*netser*). And in like manner, much more, as he stated in his behalf many other names.]]¹

¹ B. omits this whole section. It is interpolated from the Talmud, *Sanh.* 43a.

16 Forthwith they held him, and his three hundred and ten disciples were unable to deliver him.

Ps. xliv,
23
Isa. i,
15

I Ki. xix
10

17 Now the same hour that he saw himself brought to death, he began and said, Did not David prophesy concerning me and say, For thy sake we are killed. But of you said Isaiah, Your hands are full of blood. And of you said the prophet before the Holy One, blessed be he, And thy prophets they slew with the sword.¹

18 Then began the insurgents to lament, but they were not able to deliver him.

19 And in that same hour² was he put to death : and it was the sixth hour and the eve of the passover and of the sabbath.

20 When they had (brought him forth)³ to hang him on a tree : it brake ; for the Ineffable Name was with him.

21 Now when the foolish ones saw that the trees were broken under him, they accounted it for the greatness of his righteousness.

22 Until they brought for him the stock of a carob tree : for while he was yet alive he knew the custom of Israel that they would hang him, and knew his death, and the manner of his being put to death, that at the last he would be hanged on a tree.⁴

23 At that time he caused by the Ineffable Name that no tree should bear him ; but over the carob-stock he uttered not the Ineffable Name : for it is no tree but a plant.

¹ B. omits " and of you . . . with the sword."

² B. adds " they brought him down to the place of stoning."

³ S. defective.

⁴ B. omits " for while . . . on a tree."

24 [And so it happens in certain years that a Jerusalem carob-tree will produce more than a hundred litres (of pods) unto this day].

Deut.
xxi, 23

25 When they had let him hang until the time of afternoon prayer, they took him down from the tree (for so) it is written, His body shall not remain all night upon the tree. Then they buried him.

Chap. v.

1 When the first day of the week (was come) the insurgents of his people were weeping by his grave.

2 Some of the young men of Israel passed by them : they spake into them in the Aramaic tongue,¹ Why sit the burden-bearers² setting up such a complaint by the grave ? Let us satisfy ourselves.

3 The foolish ones said in their hearts that they (i.e., the young men) would not find him.³

4 Then went the insurgents⁴ to Helene the queen, saying, He whom they have slain was the Messiah, and many wonders did he show forth in his lifetime ; and now after his death they buried him.

Ps. xlix,
16

5 But he is not in his grave. Already he hath ascended to heaven, and it is written, For he shall receive me. Selah. Thus did he prophesy of himself.

6 She sent for the wise men,⁵ and said, What have ye done with him ? And they say unto her, We have put him to death, for so was the sentence upon him.⁶

¹ The words spoken are in Aramaic in the original.

² i.e. asses, a sarcastic joke.

³ B. adds " they searched the whole grave through."

⁴ B. adds " the haters of Israel and the 320 young men and his apostates to Pilate."

⁵ B. " the Sanhedrin."

⁶ B. " for the Beth Din declared him worthy of death."

7 She said to them, If ye have put him to death, what have ye done then ? They say unto her, We have buried him.

8 Straightway they sought for him diligently in the grave ; but they found him not.

9 She said to them, In this grave ye buried him : where is he therefore ?

10 Then were the wise men confounded, and knew not how to answer her : for a certain man¹ had taken him forth from his grave and brought him into his garden, and had divided² the waters that were flowing into his garden, and had digged in the sand and buried him, and had brought back the waters into their channel over the grave.

11 The queen said therefore, If ye cannot show me Jesus I will leave you neither freedom nor escape.

12 They say unto her, Grant us a suitable space of time.

13 And after she had granted them a space of time,³ all Israel was lamenting with fasting and prayer.

14 And the insurgents found occasion to open their mouths, saying, Ye have slain the Lord's anointed.

15 And all Israel was in great distress [and the wise men and all the land of Israel fled from place to place because of the great fear].⁴

16 Then went forth one of them, an elder whose name was Rabbi Tanchuma, and he was walking and weeping in the field.

¹ B. "a gardener."

² B. "stopped up."

³ W. "three days."

⁴ B. omits "and the wise man . . . the great fear."

17 The keeper of the garden¹ saw him, and said unto him, Wherefore weepest thou ? He said, For thus and thus, because of that wicked one who is not to be found ; and, lo, already is it the appointed term granted us by the queen, and all of us are weeping and fasting.

18 Now when he heard these words, that all Israel was as them that mourn, and that the wicked ones were saying, that he is ascended to heaven ;

19 Then said the keeper of the garden, This day shall joy and gladness be in Israel, for I stole him on account of the insurgents, that they should not take him away and have an open mouth for ever.

20 Straightway they went to Jerusalem and told them the glad tidings.

21 And all Israel went forth after the keeper of the garden ; and they bound cords to the feet of (Jesus),² and dragged him round the streets of Jerusalem until they brought him to the queen.³

22 And they said, This is he that ascended to heaven.

23 And they went forth from her presence with joy ; and she mocked the insurgents and praised the wise men.

Chap. vi. The Acts of the Apostles.

1 Then fled his⁴ disciples and dispersed themselves among the kingdoms ; three of them to mount Ararat ; three of them to Armenia ; and three to Rome ; and the rest to other places, and they caused the people to err.

¹ B. "Judas the gardener."

² W. "they bound him to the tail of a horse."

³ B. "Pilate."

⁴ B. adds "twelve."

2 But in every place whither they were fled, the Lord, blessed be he, sent forth his judgment upon them, and they were all slain.

3 And many of our own insurgents went astray after him (Jesus), and there was strife between them and the children of Israel ; and they smote them (so that there was . . .)¹ disorder of prayers and spoliation of wealth.

4 And wheresoever the insurgents saw Israel, they said to Israel, Ye have slain the Lord's anointed.

5 And Israel used to say to them, Ye are children of death, in that ye have believed on a false prophet.

6 Nevertheless they went not forth from the community of Israel, and there was strife and discord between them, so that Israel had no rest.

7 Now when the wise men of Israel² saw it thus, they said, (It is now) thirty years since the time that that wicked one was slain, and from then even until now we have no rest with these impious ones.

Deut.
xxxii, 21

8 And this has surely befallen us because of the abundance of our iniquities, as it is written, They have moved me to jealousy with their not-God ; they have provoked me to anger with their vanities :

9 And I will move them to jealousy with a not-people [[these are the Nazarenes, who are naught]], and I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation [[these are the Ishmaelites]]³.

10 And the wise men said, How long shall the

¹ S. text defective.

² B. " the Sanhedrin, recorders and saints."

³ The original was probably Cuthites (i.e., Samaritans) " the foolish people that dwell in Shechem."

insurgents profane the sabbath and the feasts and slay each one his fellow?¹

11 But let us look for a wise man who will take out these impious ones from the community of Israel.

12 To-day it is thirty years that we have reproved them, and they have not returned to the Lord. Howbeit, there hath entered into their hearts that Jesus is the Messiah; and so may they go to destruction, and we shall have rest.

13 And the wise men agreed of their knowledge on a man whose name was Elijah, and he was greatly learned.

14 And they said to him, We have agreed to pray on thy behalf, and thou shalt surely be counted in the company of Israel to share in the time to come.

15 Go, and show compassion to Israel, and take out the insurgents from us, that they may go to destruction.

16 Elijah² went therefore [from the oak-grove³ of Tiberias] to Antioch,⁴ and advertised through all the land of Israel, Let every believer in Jesus join himself to me.

17 Then said he to them, I am the apostle of Jesus, who hath sent me unto you,⁵ and I will give you a sign even as Jesus did.

18 They brought unto him a leper, and he laid his hand upon him, and he was healed.

¹ B. omits "how long . . . his fellow."

² In W. it is Simeon Kepha who undertakes the mission, and in Huldreich it is Simeon ben Kalpus, uncle of Jesus.

³ i.e. the council of the wise men. The rabbinical college is called in the Talmud "the vineyard."

⁴ W. "the chief city of the Nazarenes."

⁵ B. omits (16-17) "in Jesus . . . sent me unto you."

19 Then brought they unto him a lame man, and he pronounced the Ineffable Name and laid his hand upon him, and he was healed and stood upon his feet.

20 Straightway they bowed down before him, and said, Truly thou art the apostle of Jesus, for thou showest us signs even as he did.

Ps. cx,
1 21 And he said, Therefore Jesus saluteth you and saith, I am at the side of my Father in heaven, yea, at his right hand until he avenge himself on the Jews, as David saith, The Lord said unto my lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

22 [In that hour they all wept and added folly to their foolishness].¹

23 Elijah spake unto them, Jesus saith unto you, Whoever will be with me in the time to come, let him go forth from the community of Israel, and have no fellowship with them, for already my Father which is in heaven abhorreth them, and from henceforth desireth not their service:

Isa. i,
14 24 For so he saith by the hand of Isaiah, Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth : they are a trouble to me ; I am too weary to bear them.

25 But Jesus saith unto you, Whoever will be of my company, let him profane the sabbath, for already the Holy One, blessed be he, hateth it, and keepeth the first day instead thereof ; for on it the Holy One, blessed be he, gave light to his world.

26 And for the passover which Israel celebrate keep ye the testimony of the resurrection,² for on it he rose from the grave.

¹ B. omits " in that hour . . . foolishness." ² W. " the day of his death."

27 And instead of the assembly of ascents¹ (keep ye) the day wherein he ascended to heaven.

28 And instead of new year (keep ye) the finding of the cross.

29 And instead of the great fast² (keep ye) the (feast of the) circumcision.

30 And instead of *chanukah*³ (keep ye) *calendae*.⁴

31 The foreskin is naught, circumcision is naught : whoever will circumcise himself, let him be circumcised ; and whoever will not, let him not be circumcised.

32 Moreover, whatsoever the Holy One, blessed be he, created in his world from the smallest gnat to the largest elephant, pour forth its blood upon the ground and eat it ; for so it is written, Even as the green herb have I given you all things.⁵

Gen. ix,
3

33 And if one of them compel you to go one mile, let him go with him two miles.

34 And if a Jew smite you on the left side, turn to him the right side also.

35 And if a Jew revile you, suffer him, and return it not again, for after this manner Jesus also suffered.

36 In meekness he showed himself, that ye might see his example of meekness, and suffer whatsoever might be done unto you.

37 And at the day of judgment Jesus will cast them off ; but ye shall have hope because of your meekness.

Zeph. ii,
3

38 For so it is written, Seek ye the Lord, all ye meek of the earth, which have wrought his judgment ;

¹ B. " feast of weeks " (pentecost).

² B. " day of atonement " (S. gives the holy days in Aramaic, B. in Hebrew).

³ The feast of lights.

⁴ *καλάνδαι* i.e., new year.

⁵ Cf. the argument in Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* xx.

seek righteousness, seek meekness ; it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the Lord's anger.

39 Until he had separated them from Israel.

Ezek.
xx, 25

40 And this Elijah, which shewed unto them statutes that were not good, did it for the restoration of Israel : and the Nazarenes called him Paul.

41 After that Paul had set up these statutes and commandments, then were the impious ones separated from Israel, and the strife ceased.¹

Chap. vii.

[[1 Now after a long time the kingdom of Persia² arose.

2 And a certain one went forth from them and made a mock of them, even as the heretics had made a mock of the wise men.

3 And he said to them, Paul erred in his writing when he said to you, Be not circumcised : for Jesus was circumcised.

4 Moreover Jesus said, I am not come to diminish a single word of the law of Moses, not even one sign ; but to fulfil all his words.

5 And this is your reproach which Paul laid upon you when he said, Be not circumcised.

6 And Nestorius said unto them, Circumcise yourselves, for Jesus was circumcised.

7 Furthermore Nestorius said, Ye are idolators that say, Jesus is God, seeing that he was born of a woman. Only the Holy Spirit ministered through him as with the prophets.

8. And Nestorius began to debate with the Nazarenes : he persuaded their wives.

¹ B. ends here, and this is the true conclusion of the *Toldoth*. ² The Sassanians.

9 He said unto them, I will enact¹ that no Nazarene shall have two wives.

10 And as Nestorius became detestable in their sight there arose a strife between them, in so much that a Nazarene would not pray to the abomination of Nestorius, neither a Nestorian to the abomination of the Nazarenes.

11 Thereafter Nestorius went to Babylonia, to a certain place the name of which is Chazaza,² and all fled before him.

12 And the women concealed³ themselves, for Nestorius was a violent man.

13 The women said to him, What wilt thou of us?

14 He said unto them, I will only that ye receive of me the bread and wine offering.

15 Now it was a custom of the women of Chazaza to carry in their hands large keys.

16 He gave one of them the offering ; and she cast it on the ground.

17 Then the women threw the keys which were in their hands, and smote him so that he died.

18 And the strife continued between them for a long time.

Chap. viii.

[[1 Now the chief of the sanhedrin, his name was Simeon Kepha.

2 And why was his name Kepha ? Because he stood upon the stone whereon Ezekiel prophesied by the river Chebar, and on that stone there came to Simeon a voice from heaven.

¹ Lit. "make a hedge."

² Aramaic, i.e. "sandy."

³ *Nistaru*, a play on the name Nestorius.

3 Now when the Nazarenes heard concerning Simeon Kepha that he was the hearer of a heavenly voice, and that there was in him abundance of wisdom that could not be searched out, they envied Israel that so great a man was found in Israel.

4 And God put it into the heart of Simeon Kepha to go to Jerusalem to pray on the feast of tabernacles, where there were gathered together all the bishops¹ and the patriarch of the Nazarenes.

5 And they came to Simeon Kepha on the mount of Olives on *Hosanna rabba*.²

6 When they saw his wisdom, they all agreed that there was none like him in Israel, and that he should be turned to the faith of the Nazarenes.

7 And they constrained him, saying, If thou dost not profess our faith, we will slay thee, and we will not leave any in Israel to enter the sanctuary.

8 Now when Israel saw it thus, they besought him, Accede to their words and act according to thy wisdom, and neither sin nor iniquity shall be on thee for the sake of God's glory.

9 When he perceived the hard fate of Israel he went over to the Nazarenes, and said to them, On this condition will I agree to your judgment, that ye slay no Jew, that ye smite him not, and that ye leave him free to go out and in to the sanctuary.

10 And the patriarch and the Nazarenes accepted his words and all these conditions.

11 Further he made a condition with them, that they should build him a high tower, into which he would enter, and eat neither flesh nor any other thing save bread and water ; and that he would let

¹ *Hegemonim*, ἡγεμόνες.

² The seventh day of the feast of tabernacles.

down a handle by a cord that they might give him bread and water only, and he would abide in that tower until the day of his death.

12 All this he did that he might not defile himself, and that he might not be defiled by them or mix with them, for the name of Heaven.

13 But to the Nazarenes he spake after the fashion of their faith that he would mourn for Jesus, and eat neither flesh nor any other thing save bread and water only.

14 So they built him a tower, and he dwelt therein ; and he defiled not himself with food and bowed not down to the cross.

15 After a long time in the midst of the tower he composed *keruboth*, *yotzroth* and *zulthoth*¹ in his name, like Eleazar ben Kalir, and he sent and gathered together the elders of Israel and gave them all that he had brought forth of his knowledge.

16 And he commanded them to teach it to the precentors that they might use it in prayer, so that they might remember him for good.

17 Moreover he sent it to Rabbi Nathan, the Prince of the Captivity, to Babylon ; and they showed it to the heads of the colleges, to the sanhedrin ; and they said, It is good.

18 And they taught it to the precentors of all Israel, and they used it in prayer.

19 Whoever would remember the name of Rabbi Simeon in his chanting, remembered it. May his memory endure for ever.

20 For God in his mercy made him a good defender. Amen for ever. Selah]].

¹ Forms of liturgical poetry.

CHAPTER III

THE "TOLDOTH" AND THE CANONICAL GOSPELS

THE aim of the compiler of the *Toldoth* is to dramatize the conflict between Jesus and the Jewish doctors. He omits as irrelevant nearly all the teaching and miracles of Jesus : he preserves only so much as will contribute to his object, and give the proper sequence to the story. He does not scruple to make fun of something that he reads in his source, or to twist an incident to serve his own purpose. But he is careful to retain the setting, and very rarely does he or the redactor introduce material for which his source gives him no authority. The principal departures represent borrowings from the Talmud believed to apply to Jesus, and inserted at appropriate places. We may disregard the last two chapters, though these will be discussed in their place, as they are late additions which do not belong to the original. The compiler allows some statements to stand, including messianic proof-texts from the Old Testament, where they are not objectionable to him. In so far he is fair to Jesus and faithful to his source. There is none of the vindictiveness that characterizes the writings of the Church Fathers, who were his contemporaries. If it is a polemic, it is a good-humoured polemic ; but to the writer it seems very doubtful if there was any polemical intention. The compiler did not expect his readers to take him seriously. He was not attempting to reveal the true

history of Jesus, as opposed to the false version of the Christians. There is light-hearted mockery in his tone ; but it is not so much mockery of Jesus as of the Christians, who have been so foolish as to make a god of him.

It is very important that we should understand this at the outset, and not allow a question of faith to magnify the enormity and blasphemy of the statements that we read. If we do allow prejudice to get the upper hand, we shall be entirely misrepresenting the compiler's attitude. We must be quite clear about this attitude. His fellow Jews were reading the Gospel, and were deeply impressed by it. The writer of the *Toldoth* wished to discount the impression of such reading, to take away the force of the appeal : he attempted to do so by giving his own version in a lively manner, so that the Gospel stories might be, as Krauss says, "removed from the sphere of Christian potency, and rendered innocuous." In order to effect this he has to preserve the Gospel form, so that there should be no doubt as to which book he was using as a target : it was not Gospels in general, which being in Greek a great many of his fellow Jews would not have read, but a Gospel in particular—the Hebrew Gospel. Therefore, we may be fairly confident that when we find some story recorded in the *Toldoth* that has no place in any of our canonical Gospels that this story in Christian terms stood in the Gospel text used by the compiler. This may seem like anticipating the verdict, but the writer has behind him the laborious research which guarantees this conclusion.

We may ignore altogether the ready suggestion that the compiler of the *Toldoth* merely constructed his story from the statements of Christian preachers, which he had heard, or which were familiar to him, including apparently many traditions so far discovered only in Christian apocrypha.

The construction and verbal parallels are entirely against this point of view.

In our efforts to elucidate the *Toldoth* and its source we shall proceed on the assumption that we have to do with an early and important document, which demands painstaking analysis and careful investigation. The *Toldoth* is at least entitled to be treated in this way unless and until it can be shown that this is too high a consideration to be paid to it.

We shall examine first the relationship between the *Toldoth* and the canonical Gospels, setting down the similarities in narrative and phraseology. The comparisons do not pretend to be exhaustive, but to be adequate for the object in view.

The Toldoth and the Gospel of Matthew

<i>Tŷ. i, 1</i>	<i>Matt. i, 18</i>
The beginning of the birth of Jesus	Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise
<i>Tŷ. i, 2</i>	<i>Matt. i, 18</i>
His mother was Mary	His mother Mary
<i>Tŷ. i, 3</i>	<i>Matt. i, 18, 20</i>
And she had a betrothed of the kingly seed, of the house of David ; and his name was John	(She) was betrothed to Joseph . . . son of David
<i>Tŷ. i, 21</i>	<i>Matt. i, 25</i>
She bore a son, and they called his name Jesus	Till she had brought forth her first-born son : and he called his name Jesus
<i>Tŷ. i, 28</i>	<i>Matt. x, 25</i>
Who is the master, and who is the disciple ?	It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master
<i>Tŷ. i, 28</i>	<i>Matt. xxi, 31</i>
Whether of the twain	Whether of them twain (cf. xxvii, 21)
<i>Tŷ. i, 40</i>	<i>Matt. iv, 12</i>
But after the saying concerning Jesus was spread abroad ; he went forth and fled to Upper Galilee	Now when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee

Tŷ. ii, 6, 7

Then came Jesus . . . and as he went forth

Tŷ. ii, 9

Then went he forth and gathered together three hundred and ten of the young men of Israel

Tŷ. ii, 16

Them that withstand me are the children of whoredoms

Tŷ. ii, 17

If thou art the Messiah, show unto us a sign

Tŷ. ii, 19-22

They brought unto him a lame man . . . and he rose up upon his feet. They brought unto him a leper . . . and he was healed.

Tŷ. ii, 20

In that hour they all worshipped him, and said, This is the Messiah

Tŷ. iii, 2

This man is a sorcerer, and he deceiveth the world

Tŷ. iii, 12

Jesus went forth to Upper Galilee

Tŷ. iii, 13 (W.)

(They sent) Annani and Ahaziah, worthy men of the lesser sanhedrin (S. reads horsemen)

Tŷ. iii, 14

The men of Upper Galilee would not suffer them, and began to fight

Tŷ. iii, 19

And Jesus said unto the horsemen, Go unto your mistress, and tell her what ye have seen

Matt. iii, 13, 16

Then cometh Jesus . . . and . . . went up straightway

Matt. iv, 25

And there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and Decapolis, and Jerusalem, and Judea, and beyond Jordan

Matt. xii, 39

An evil and adulterous generation

Matt. xii, 38

Master, we would see a sign of thee

Matt. xi, 5

The lame walk, the lepers are cleansed

(Cf. *Matt. viii, 2-4 ; ix, 2-7*)

Matt. xii, 23

And all the people were amazed, and said, Is not this the son of David? (Cf. *Matt. ix, 8, 33*)

Matt. ix, 34

He casteth out devils through the prince of the devils (Cf. *xii, 24*)

Matt. xi, 1

He departed thence, to teach and to preach in their cities

Matt. xii, 2

John sent two of his disciples

Matt. xi, 12

The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force

Matt. xi, 4

Jesus . . . said unto them, Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see

Tŷ. iii, 20

So the horsemen departed

Tŷ. iii, 24

Then went the elders of Israel and took a certain man whose name was Judas Iscariot

Tŷ. iii, 32

In that hour they seized him

Tŷ. iii, 32, 33

They said . . . Let him be destroyed . . . Let him tell us who smote him. And they covered his head with a garment and smote him with pomegranate staves

Tŷ. iii, 35

See, he is in your hands

Tŷ. iii, 36-40

And they went forth from the presence of the queen and brought him . . . and bound him to a pillar. Then gathered together the company . . . Now when Jesus saw that he had no power to escape, he said, Give me a little water. They gave him vinegar in a copper vessel . . . On his head they set a crown of thorns

Tŷ. iv, 2, 3

And he came therefore with his disciples to Jerusalem on the eve of the Passover ; he riding on an ass, and saying to his disciples, Of me it was said, Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, etc. In that same hour they all cried aloud, and bowed down before him

Matt. xi, 7

And as they departed

Matt. xxvi, 14

Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests.

Matt. xxvi, 50

Then came they . . . and took him

Matt. xxvi, 66-68

They . . . said, He is guilty of death. Then did they spit in his face, and buffeted him ; and others smote him with the staves in their hands, saying . . . Who is he that smote thee ?

Matt. xxvii, 24

See ye to it

Matt. xxvii, 27-34

Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus . . . and gathered unto him the whole band . . . And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it on his head . . . They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall

Matt. xxi, 1-9

And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem . . . then sent Jesus two of his disciples . . . All this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Tell ye the daughter of Sion, etc. . . . And the disciples went and brought the ass . . . and set him thereon . . . And the multitude that went before, and that followed, cried, Hosanna to the son of David

Tŷ. iv, 4

And he entered the temple

Tŷ. iv, 5

Then came one of them, whose name was Ga'isa (W. Judas), and said to the wise men, Would you pay off the wicked one?

Tŷ. iv, 8

If ye will come in the morning and greet us, I will come and make him obeisance; and to whom I make obeisance that same is the wicked one: (seize him W.)

Tŷ. iv, 10, 11

Then entered Ga'isa with them . . . and made obeisance to the wicked Jesus. Immediately the wise men perceived this, they rose up against him, and seized him

Tŷ. (W. l.c.)

And when his disciples saw that he was captive . . . they took to their legs . . . and wept bitterly

Tŷ. iv, 19, 25

And in that same hour was he put to death: and it was the sixth hour . . . When they had let him hang until the time of afternoon prayer (i.e. the ninth hour)

Tŷ. iv, 22

For while he was yet alive he knew . . . his death, and the manner of his being put to death that at the last he would be hanged on a tree

Matt. xxi, 12

And Jesus went into the temple

Matt. xxvi, 14, 15

Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests, and said, What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you?

Matt. xxvi, 48

Now he that betrayed him gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he: hold him fast

Matt. xxvi, 49, 50

And forthwith he came to Jesus, and said, Hail, master; and kissed him . . . Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus, and took him.

Matt. xxvi, 56, 75

Then all the disciples forsook him, and fled . . . And he went out and wept bitterly

Matt. xxvii, 35, 45, 46, 50

And they crucified him . . . Now from the sixth hour there was darkness . . . until the ninth hour. And about the ninth hour Jesus cried . . . (and) yielded up the ghost

Matt. xx, 18, 19

Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be betrayed unto the chief priests . . . and they shall condemn him to death, and shall deliver him to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify

Tŷ. v, 1

When the first day of the week
was come

Tŷ. v, 5

He is not in his grave. Already
he hath ascended to heaven . . .
Thus did he prophesy of himself

Matt. xxviii, 1

As it began to dawn toward the
first day of the week

Matt. xxviii, 6

He is not here ; for he is risen,
as he said

The Toldoth and the Gospel of Mark

Parallels with Matthew in Mark and Luke are not repeated unless there is a special verbal resemblance to the *Toldoth*

Tŷ. i, 1

The beginning of the birth of
Jesus

Mark i, 1

The beginning of the gospel of
Jesus Christ

Tŷ. ii, 10

*They desire greatness for them-
selves and seek to exercise lordship
in Israel*

Mark x, 42

*They which rule over the Gentiles
exercise lordship over them ; and
their great ones exercise authority
upon them*

Tŷ. iii, 17

They rolled (a millstone) to the
seashore . . . and he sat thereon
as one sitteth in a boat

Mark iv, 1

And he began again to teach by
the seashore . . . so that he
entered into a ship, and sat in the
sea

Tŷ. iv, 25

They took him down . . . Then
they buried him

Mark xv, 46

And took him down . . . and
laid him in a sepulchre

Tŷ. v, 16

Then went forth one of them . . .
and he was walking and weeping
in the field

Mark xvi, 12

After that he appeared . . . unto
two of them, as they walked, and
went into the country

The Toldoth and the Gospel of Luke.

Tŷ. i, 3

And she had a betrothed of the
kingly seed, of the house of
David ; and his name was John

Luke i, 27

Betrothed to a man whose name
was Joseph, of the house of David

Tŷ. i, 19

After some time it was noised abroad that Mary was with child

Tŷ. i, 26

On a certain day the rabbis were debating ; then began he to utter halachoth before them

Tŷ. i, 27

Worthy of death

Tŷ. i, 35

This day is it thirty years

Tŷ. ii, 1

The rule of all Israel was in the hand of a woman

Tŷ. iii, 6, 7

And the dead revived. In that hour the queen trembled

Tŷ. iii, 26

When the wise men entered . . . they began vehemently to accuse him

Tŷ. iv. 9

They went and greeted the disciples of Jesus that were come from all parts to pray . . . on the mount of Olives

Tŷ. v, 4

Saying, He whom they have slain was the Messiah, and many wonders did he show forth in his lifetime

Tŷ. v, 16-20

Then went forth one of them, an elder . . . and he was walking and weeping in the field. The keeper of the garden saw him, and said unto him, *Wherefore weepest thou? He said, For thus and thus, because of that wicked*

Luke i, 65

And all these sayings were noised abroad throughout all the hill country of Judea

Luke ii, 46

Sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions

Luke xxiii, 15

Worthy of death

Luke iii, 23

And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age

Luke iii, 1

Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea

Luke vii, 15, 16

And he that was dead sat up . . . And there came a fear on all

Luke xxiii, 10

And the chief priests and scribes stood and vehemently accused him

Luke xxii, 39

And he came out, and went, as he was wont, to the mount of Olives ; and his disciples followed him

Luke xxiv, 19

And they said . . . Concerning Jesus . . . which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people

Luke xxiv, 13-35

Two of them went that same day to Emmaus . . . Jesus himself drew near . . . and said unto them, *What manner of communications are these that ye have with one another, as ye walk, and are sad? And one of them answering*

one, who is not to be found ; and, lo, already is it the appointed term . . . Straightway they went to Jerusalem and told them the glad tidings

said unto him, Art thou a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things that are come to pass there . . . concerning Jesus of Nazareth. . . . Beside all this, to-day is the third day since these things were done . . . They found not his body. . . . They rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem . . . and told what things were done in the way

The Toldoth and the Gospel of John.

Tŷ. ii, 17

If thou art the Messiah, show unto us a sign

Tŷ. iii, 1

Now when the wise men saw that all were believing in him

Tŷ. iii, 2

This man is a sorcerer, and he deceiveth the world

Tŷ. iii, 4

Is it in your law ?

Tŷ. iii, 7

Jesus saith unto her, Lady, I am he

Tŷ. iii, 13

Therefore she sent horsemen on his account

Tŷ. iii, 13

Saying to them, I am the son of God

Tŷ. iii, 14

The horsemen rose up therefore to take him

Tŷ. iii, 20

So the horsemen departed, and reported all these things to the queen

John vi, 30

What sign shewest thou then ?

John xi, 47, 48

Then gathered the chief priests and the Pharisees a council, and said . . . It we let him alone, all will believe on him

John vii, 12

He deceiveth the people

John viii, 17

It is also written in your law

John iv, 26

Jesus saith unto her, I that speak unto thee am he

John vii, 32

The Pharisees and the chief priests sent officers to take him

John x, 36

I said, I am the son of God

John vii, 44

And some of them would have taken him

John vii, 45, 46

Then came the officers to the chief priests and Pharisees ; and . . . answered, Never man spake like this man

Tf. iii. 43

And his . . . disciples brought him into the region of Antioch, and he abode there until the eve of the passover

Tf. iv. 6-7

They say, But where is he to be found? He saith, He is in the temple, They say unto him, Show us

Tf. iv. 12-15

They say unto him, What is thy name? He saith unto them Mathai. They say unto him, How establishest thou this? etc.

Tf. iv. 19

And it was . . . the eve of the passover and the sabbath

Tf. v. 10

A certain man had taken him forth from his grave, and brought him into his garden . . . and buried him

Tf. v. 16-20

Then went forth one of them, an elder . . . and he was walking and weeping. The keeper of the garden saw him, and said unto him, Wherefore weepest thou? He said, For thus and thus, because of that wicked one, who is not to be found . . . and that the wicked ones were saying, that he is ascended into heaven; (he) said, This day shall joy and gladness be in Israel. . . . Straightway they went to Jerusalem and told them the glad tidings

John xi. 54, 55

Jesus . . . went thence unto a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there continued with his disciples. And the . . . passover was nigh at hand

John xi. 57

Now both the chief priests and the Pharisees had given a commandment, that, if any man knew where he were, he should show it

John xviii. 19

The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his doctrine.

John xix. 14

And it was the preparation of the passover (Cf. xix. 31)

John xix. 41, 42

Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre. . . . There laid they Jesus

John xx. 11-18

But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping: and as she wept, she . . . seeth two angels in white sitting. . . . And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my lord, and I know not where they have laid him. . . . She turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing. . . . She, supposing him to be the keeper of the garden . . . Jesus saith unto her, Mary! . . . Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father. . . . Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord

These comparisons between the *Toldoth* and the canonical Gospels are so striking as to give us furiously to think. Not only in incident, but even in word, there are such close parallels as to make it certain that the compiler is using a written source. A keen Christian would be hard put to it to set down from memory such exact recollections, much less a Jew with only a slight acquaintance with the Gospel story. And if a written source is employed it is obviously no one of our four Gospels. If we say that he has used all four indiscriminately, and has made a selection of those passages which suited him, then our opinion of his acumen and critical ability is raised so much the higher ; for how has he been able to delve so deeply into the Synoptic Problem, and discover the connection between divergent stories in the Synoptics and *John* ? We leave aside for the present the considerable extra-canonical matter which he has also used.

A careful study of the passages where comparison is possible shows that *Matthew* has the largest number of points of contact ; *Luke* follows a close second ; then comes *John*, and lastly *Mark*. We notice on occasion an interesting verbal agreement with one Gospel, where the incident in the context is not implied. A good instance of this is *Tf.* iii, 7, " Jesus saith unto her, Lady, I am he," compared with *John* iv, 26, where there is nothing in the *Toldoth* to show that its source contained any reference to the story of the woman of Samaria.

It is naturally desirable to ascertain how much of the canonical Gospel material is represented in the *Toldoth*. For a number of incidents this is quite clear, and for further considerable passages there are sufficient indications to make their inclusion highly probable. We have already alluded to the fact that the purpose of the *Toldoth* compiler required that large sections of his source should be omitted :

he had no intention of giving wider publicity to the teaching of Jesus. This is why not one of the parables appears in the *Toldoth*, though some of them were in *Hebrews*, which we hold to have been his source.

There is one vital change in the order of the narrative from that with which we are familiar. This is of a fundamental character, and there would have been nothing gained by its invention by the compiler : it must have stood in the source. The account of the arrest and crucifixion of Jesus is broken right across by the statement that on the point of execution Jesus was rescued by his disciples. He remains in hiding until the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and later on the eve of the Passover he is betrayed, re-arrested and hanged. This version, which will be investigated in its place, completely breaks up the canonical references to the Passion ; yet we shall be able to show that it was known to some of the Evangelists.

Every student of the Synoptic Problem is aware that two of the Evangelists may relate an incident or a parable in such a different way that only by a close textual examination is it evident that we are offered independent versions or traditions of one and the same event or teaching. It is of great importance, therefore, that the *Toldoth* by supplying a third version sometimes enables us to associate two others which occur in the canonical Gospels, which before, so far as the writer is aware, had never been regarded as relating to the same events. The most significant of these are the embassy of the disciples of John to Jesus, now associated through the *Toldoth* with the officers sent by the chief priests to take Jesus, as recorded in *John*, and the appearance of Jesus to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, now associated through the *Toldoth* with the appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene, as found in *John*. It is as if we had

reflected in the *Toldoth* a fifth Gospel, by means of which we could further investigate the other four. Indeed the *Toldoth* also helps to bring the canonical documents into line with evangelical texts like the *Gospel of Peter* which are on the borderline of canonicity.

Let us now survey the indications of canonical matter given us in the *Toldoth*.

The Birth and Infancy of Jesus

The rather crude story of the birth of Jesus in the *Toldoth* is quite clearly aimed at the story of his birth as reflected in *Matthew* and *Luke*. In *Tj.* ii, 12-14 the compiler puts into the mouth of Jesus his knowledge of the parthenogenesis. The omission of the Genealogy was to be expected, though the frequently used title *Toldoth Jeshu* "Generations of Jesus" argues that it was probably contained in the source text. As the document now reads, according to the Strasburg codex, *Tj.* i, 1-21, is very similar to *Matt.* ii, 18-25. The beginning of W., however, is closer to *Luke* i, 5, which may be explained by supposing a brief introduction to have stood in the original. There are a number of points of contact between S. and *Luke*. The naming of John as the betrothed and Joseph as the seducer may indicate that the birth of John the Baptist was included, while the reference to Simeon ben Shetach may conceivably be substituted for the aged Simeon.

After the nativity story there follows a verse about the provision of a teacher for the boy Jesus, which is not now present in any of the canonical Gospels.

From *Tj.* i, 23-39, we obtain an account of Jesus before the doctors, which in the canonical records is peculiar to *Luke*, and in i, 35 there is a statement about Jesus being thirty years of age, which again is only found in *Luke* iii, 23.

The Beginning of the Public Ministry

It would appear from *Tj.* ii, 1, that the source text had a reference to the rulership of Palestine, probably answering to *Luke* iii, 1. Matthew has only "In those days."

It would have been impossible for the source text not to have included an account of the Baptism, and we can trace in the *Toldoth* some reminiscence of it; but evidently it did not suit the compiler to afford such testimony to the Messiahship of Jesus as was represented by the Heavenly Voice and the Descent of the Holy Spirit. He has to explain how Jesus obtained his power to perform miracles, and he therefore substitutes the story of the obtaining of the Sacred Name by subtlety, based on an ancient Jewish legend of the *Eben-Shetiyah*, the Foundation Stone in the Sanctuary. After Jesus has obtained his powers, he gathers a multitude together and proclaims his messiahship on the basis of scripture prophecy (*Isa.* vii, 14; *Ps.* ii, 7). The compiler thus witnesses to the two testimonies that are at the heart of the Nativity and Baptismal stories. We shall consider later the idea that special powers of the Spirit were conferred on Jesus at his baptism; but we may not unfairly assume that the source gave details of the baptism with some peculiar elements of its own.

Jesus Heals a Lame Man and a Leper

The Sermon on the Mount being teaching matter is omitted by the compiler, who passes on at once to the miracles of healing. The order of the two miracles is reversed, but there can be little doubt that they correspond to the healing of the leper and the man sick of the palsy in *Mark* ii, 40—ii, 12; *Luke* v, 12—26. Both these Gospels bring these two miracles together, while in *Matthew* they are separated (viii, 2—4; ix, 2—3), and there is the further

complication of two healings of a dumb man (*Matt.* ix, 32-34 ; xii, 22-45). The key words of the *Toldoth*, "If thou art the Messiah, show unto us a sign (cf. *Matt.* xii, 38) indicate that we are dealing with the same material, and Matthew has evidently incorporated several traditions of the one miracle. We may wonder that the *Toldoth* speaks of a lame man, but this is explained when we turn to *John* and find that he has another version of the same miracle in the healing of an impotent man at the pool of Bethesda (v, 1-16). It would be surprising indeed for the Jewish compiler to have noted all these variants and distinctions, and this again suggests that he did not have our canonical Gospels before him, but another text of Synoptic type.

Jesus is Questioned : He Raises a Dead Man

In the *Toldoth* the story continues with an account of the elders of Israel leading Jesus bound before the queen, who in the Jewish narrative represents the king or governor, on the ground that he is deceiving the people. Jesus claims to be the Messiah, and in proof, raises a dead man to life, much to the fear and amazement of the queen, who releases him, and he returns to Galilee. This story is followed immediately by an account of how the elders succeed in persuading the queen that Jesus is indeed a deceiver, to such effect, at any rate, that she sends a troop to Galilee to take him. The soldiers come upon him as he is teaching by the sea, but are so surprised at his miracles that at Jesus' request they meekly agree to take back a report of what they have witnessed.

Again the sequence of events is all important if we are to discover what kind of narrative was contained in the underlying Gospel text. There is something of the atmosphere

of *John* vii, where Jesus goes to Jerusalem "not openly, but as it were in secret" (vii, 10), and this is because "the Jews sought to kill him" (vii, 1). There is argument about his claims, and "they sought to take him; but no man laid hands on him" (vii, 30). Many believe on him, and say, "When Messiah cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?" (vii, 31).

This is very interesting, and allowing for the compiler's bias, very convincing. There is no reference at this point in *John* to the raising of a dead man to life, but in the sequel in *John* vii, we read that "the Pharisees and chief priests sent officers to take him." There is "a division among the people because of him. And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him. Then came the officers to the chief priests and Pharisees; and they said unto them, Why have ye not brought him? The officers answered, Never man spake like this man. Then answered them the Pharisees, Are ye also deceived?" (vii, 39-48). So that with the exception of the raising of the dead man, the sequence of incidents in the *Toldoth* and *John* vii is similar.

We turn now to *Luke* vii. This is the only Gospel that gives the miracle of the raising of a dead man in terms at all comparable to the *Toldoth* (cf. *Tj.* iii, 8-9; *Luke* vii, 11-16). Then follows in *Luke* vii the account of the messengers sent by John the Baptist to Jesus.

The Messengers Convinced by the Signs

The *Toldoth* here presents a pretty problem. There are close verbal agreements between the *Toldoth* story of the horsemen sent to take Jesus and the embassy of the Baptist's disciples as related in *Luke*. The following parallels may be noted.

T γ . iii, 13-20

Therefore *she sent* horsemen on his account. . . . *And Jesus said unto the horsemen, Go unto your mistress, and tell her what ye have seen. . . . So the horsemen departed*

Luke vii, 19-24

And John, calling two of his disciples, *sent* them to Jesus. . . . *Then Jesus . . . said unto them, Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen. . . . And when the messengers of John were departed*

In the *Toldoth* "they that were sent saw and wondered . . . and they reported all these things to the queen." In the same way in *John* the officers return without having taken Jesus, and report, "Never man spake like this man." *John* has no account of the embassy of the Baptist's disciples. Are we to understand that the divergent stories in *Luke* and *John* are really independent traditions of the same incident, and if so does the *Toldoth* represent a third intermediate version? We may note that in W. the two disciples of the Baptist become two officers of the lesser Sanhedrin, whose names are given as Annani and Ahaziah, who are sent to induce Jesus to come to Jerusalem, where the elders may seize him and have him executed. We have only to remember Josephus' account of the two priests Joazar and Judas sent by the principal men of Jerusalem to Galilee to persuade the insurgents to lay down their arms,¹ to appreciate that there is nothing improbable in the *Toldoth* story.

But we can carry the matter a stage further. The horsemen who are sent to take Jesus in the *Toldoth* find him speaking to the people beside the Sea of Galilee. The setting is that of *Matt.* xiii, 1 and *Mark* iv, 1, and rather closer to the latter. "And he began again to teach by the seaside: and there were gathered unto him a great multitude, so that he entered into a ship, and sat in the sea; and the whole multitude was by the sea on the land." The visit

¹ *Vita*, vii (Cf. *John* i, 19-28).

of the Baptist's disciples is placed earlier in *Matthew* (xi, 4-19) ; but on the other hand the last miracle of healing which compares with the *Toldoth* is *Matt.* xii, 22-45, so that the actual change in order is not considerable.

We may conjecture that the source text told of a meeting of the elders to concert measures for removing Jesus. There is an exchange of words between Jesus and the officials, after which he departs into Galilee. On the way at Nain he raises the widow's son. His fame is spread abroad. Arrived again in Galilee, he enters into a ship and begins to teach the people about the kingdom of heaven in parables. Then two legates from Jerusalem with their attendant horsemen come upon him, and demand that he should return with them. The Galileans wish to offer resistance ; but Jesus calms them, and impresses the legates with his authority. The legates then return to Jerusalem without him, and make their report to the council. We should note that in W. a feeding of the multitude is mentioned, and the canonical equivalent to this is in *Matt.* xiv, *Luke* ix, *John* vi. The *Toldoth*, therefore, in spite of some minor changes in order, deals with incidents that occur in consecutive chapters of the canonical records.

Jesus is Seized and Mocked ; but later Escapes

According to the *Toldoth* Jesus comes voluntarily before the queen, and through the instrumentality of Judas he is deprived of his powers, seized, mocked, and on the point of execution is enabled to escape in a disturbance created by his followers. While he is before the queen he speaks of his ascension. In the canonical records it is only *John* (viii, 21-22) who makes Jesus speak to the Jews of his ascension, and after an interval " they sought again to take him : but he escaped out of their hand, and went away

again beyond Jordan, into the place where John at first baptized ; and there he abode. And many resorted unto him, and said, John did no miracle : but all things that John spake of this man were true " (*John* x, 39-41). He only emerges from his retreat once before the fatal Passover, for the raising of Lazarus, when his disciples say to him, " Master, the Jews of late sought to stone thee ; and goest thou thither again ? . . . Then said Thomas, which is called Didymus, unto his fellow-disciples, Let us also go, that we may die with him " (*John* xi, 8, 16). The sequence of events in *John* is thus not unlike the *Toldoth*.

It is more difficult to discover the connections between the *Toldoth* and the Synoptics, because they do not recognize two arrests ; but there seems to be some kind of link between *Tj.* iii, 21 and *Matt.* xiv, 1-2, in which Herod the tetrarch hears of the fame of Jesus. Without anticipating too far evidence which we shall have to produce later, we may suggest that the queen in the *Toldoth* is intended to stand for Herod the tetrarch, who is made to play a more prominent part in the source. As Jesus is in Galilee, in Herod's jurisdiction, the *Toldoth* rightly places the incidents in this region, and Jesus to be brought to Tiberias, Herod's city. *Luke*, combining the two arrests gives us the peculiar story of Pilate sending Jesus to Herod in Jerusalem (*Luke* xxiii, 6-12). There is a definite verbal agreement between *Tj.* iii, 26 and *Luke* xxiii, 10. The soldiers who mock Jesus and array him in a gorgeous robe (*Luke* xxiii, 11) are then the same as in *Matt.* xxvii, 27-31. The circumstances that enabled Jesus to make good his escape from " that fox " (*Luke* xiii, 31-33) may be inferred from *Matt.* xiv, 5. Antioch, to which the *Toldoth* says Jesus was taken by his disciples, was the seat of the legate of Syria, Vitellius (*Joseph.*, *Antiq.* XVIII, v, 3).

The details of the mocking in the *Toldoth* are so close to what we find in the Synoptics, that if we except the fact that this is not the final Passion at the Passover we must believe that the source text in its story of the first arrest gave many parallel details to those which have been combined in the climax to the Synoptic records, and even *John*. There could be no reason or justification for the compiler thus to allow Jesus to escape from his captors unless he found it so stated in his source. We are not now discussing the authenticity of this complete break with the canonical tradition ; but we must note the slight trace of it in *John*, and infer that it may well be historical.

The Passion Narrative

The *Toldoth* is again in agreement with *John* in making the first day of the Passover fall on the Sabbath. The triumphal entry into Jerusalem on the other hand follows the Synoptic tradition. In the details of the betrayal and second arrest there are elements both of *Matthew* and *Luke*. The latter does not mention the garden of Gethsemane. In the account of the interrogation also *Luke* is nearer to the *Toldoth* in suggesting that this took place early in the morning on the same day as the execution (*Luke* xxii, 66). The story of the execution itself is very brief in the *Toldoth*. The reference to the time of the hanging from the sixth to the ninth hour is part of the Synoptic tradition ; it is not found in *John*. On the other hand *John* alone agrees with the *Toldoth* in giving a reason based on *Deut.* xxi, 23, why the body should not remain overnight on the tree. The *Toldoth* simply states that they buried Jesus. But later we find that the body has been removed by a certain man to his own garden lest the disciples should steal it and claim that Jesus had arisen. This unnamed man may be intended

for Joseph of Arimathea. The Synoptic tradition knows nothing about a garden as the place of burial : only *John* mentions it. The suggestion, however, is peculiar to *Matthew* that the disciples of Jesus might come by night and steal the body, and claim that he was risen from the dead.

The Resurrection Narrative

The compiler of the *Toldoth*, of course, does not believe in the resurrection of Jesus, and manipulates the story for his own purposes ; but we are concerned with the indications he has preserved of the account contained in his source. On the morning of the first day of the week the disciples, presumably the women, are lamenting by the grave, and certain young men of Israel pass by and mock them. Evidently the young men search the grave and find the body missing. Whereupon the disciples say that Jesus has risen, as he said. We may believe that the source text was fairly close to the Synoptics here. The women go to the sepulchre early in the morning, and no doubt they were lamenting as was customary. When they reach the grave they find it empty, but they have a vision of angels who inform them that Jesus is risen, as he said. *Matthew* mentions only one angel ; but *Luke* says two men, and *Mark* uses the expression "a young man." The *Toldoth* while giving a like account is clearly not dependent on the Synoptics, and probably the source spoke of two young men, from which the compiler has made up his account of the mocking young men of Israel. The suggestion that Jesus is risen he has put into the mouth of the disciples.

In the *Toldoth* the queen is told by the disciples that Jesus is not in the grave ; in *Matthew* only the guards go and inform the chief priests. The matter is hushed up in *Matthew* by the elders bribing the guards to be silent ; but

the *Toldoth* has another tale to tell, which is most significant. According to the compiler the queen threatens the elders with condign punishment unless the body of Jesus is found. They ask and are granted a short period of grace in which to produce the body : there is fasting and lamentation. One of the elders named Rabbi Tanchuma is walking and weeping in the field, when he meets the keeper of the garden, who, in fact, has taken the body and reburied it in his garden under a canal. The gardener tells the rabbi the glad tidings, and they go joyfully to Jerusalem to make their report. Is there any warrant in the canonical Gospels for such a story ? Undoubtedly there is. Both *Luke* and *John* have stories which offer close verbal similarities to the *Toldoth* version, and yet are quite different from each other. We find that just as we have already noted that the Synoptic account of the healing of the man sick of the palsy is given in *John* as the healing of an impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, so here the story in *Luke* of the two disciples on the road to Emmaus is found in *John* as the appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene. We may best appreciate the similarities of the different versions by setting them briefly side by side.

Ty. v, 16-20

Then went forth one of them . . . and he was walking and weeping in the field. The keeper of the garden . . . said unto him, Wherefore weepest thou ? He said, For thus and thus, because of that wicked one who is not to be found, and, lo, already is it the appointed time . . . the wicked ones were saying, that he is ascended to heaven. . . . Straightway they went to Jerusalem and

Luke xxix, 13-25

Two of them went that same day to Emmaus . . . Jesus himself drew near . . . and said unto them, What manner of communications are these that ye have with one another, as ye walk and are sad ? And one of them . . . said unto him, Art thou a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things that are come to pass there . . . concerning Jesus of Nazareth . . . Beside all this, to-day is the third

John xx, 11-18

But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping . . . Jesus saith unto her, Woman why weepest thou ? She, supposing him to be the keeper of the garden, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him. . . . Jesus saith unto her, Mary ! She . . . saith unto him . . . Master ! Jesus saith unto her . . . Go to my brethren, and say unto

*told them the glad tid-
ings*

*day since these things were
done. Yea, and certain
women also of our com-
pany . . . were early at the
sepulchre: and when they
found not his body. . . .
They knew him . . . And
they rose the same hour,
and returned to Jerusalem
. . . and told what things
were done in the way*

*them, I ascend unto my
Father. . . . Mary came
and told the disciples
that she had seen the
Lord*

It rather looks as if *John* and *Luke* have preserved independent traditions of one incident. The italicised words are a powerful argument for a triple tradition, the distinctive features in the *Toldoth* story, quite apart from the apologetic changes, entitle it to be regarded as indicating a third form of the story with points in common with the other two.

We have omitted from our consideration the *Toldoth* "Acts" which occupies Chapter VI, as we propose in due course to investigate this separately. So far, however, as concerns the relationship between the *Toldoth* "Gospel" and the canonical Gospels, we may surely say that while the Jewish document reflects much of the language and order of our four Gospels it is certainly not borrowed from them, and even in those passages where there is a likeness it shows definite traces of an independent tradition. There is a case, then, to go to the jury, and the evidence must be heard.

CHAPTER IV

THE "TOLDOTH" AND THE CANONICAL ACTS AND EPISTLES

In the canonical Acts and Epistles there are not many references to incidents in the life of Christ, so that few comparisons with the *Toldoth* "Gospel" are possible. Certain resemblances and allusions, however, are worthy of note.

We have already remarked that the *Toldoth* substitutes the story of the stealing of the Ineffable Name for the Gospel account of the baptism, and it is rather to be inferred that the source text spoke of the granting to Jesus of special spiritual powers. We may possibly find additional confirmation of this in 1 *Cor.* xii, 1-3, and perhaps better in *Acts* x, 38, where instead of the baptism we have: "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil: for God was with him." In the *Toldoth* God is with Jesus through the power of the sacred Name, and he immediately begins to do works of healing.

There are some interesting verbal comparisons between the *Toldoth* and *Acts* in connection with the Passion narrative.

Tŷ. iv, 20

When they had brought him
forth to hang him on a tree

Acts x, 39

Whom they slew and hanged
on a tree

Tḥ. iv, 25

When they had let him hang
until the time of afternoon
prayer, they took him down
from the tree, for so it is written.
Then they buried him

Acts xiii, 29

And when they had fulfilled all
that was written of him, they
took him down from the tree, and
laid him in a sepulchre

With the first quotation we may also compare 1 *Pet.* ii, 24. The second quotation is important, for Paul, who is the speaker, agrees in this case with the *Toldoth* against the canonical Gospels in making the Jewish authorities bury Jesus and not Joseph of Arimathea.

The only other reference deserving of mention concerns the resurrection. In the story of the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, they say, "to-day is the third day since these things were done." Paul also says "he rose again the third day" (1 *Cor.* xv, 4). Similarly in the *Toldoth*, in the passage which we have compared with *Luke*, the rabbi walking and weeping in the field tells the keeper of the garden "already is it the appointed term;" and the Wagenseil text says that this was three days.

CHAPTER V

THE "TOLDOTH" AND THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS

In accordance with the theory advocated in this book we shall omit all but incidental references to *Hebrews* from our consideration of the *Toldoth* in relation to the various Apocryphal Gospels. We shall also reserve for the next chapter comparisons with the *Gospel of Peter*, which requires separate treatment.

There are three difficulties with which we have to contend in making comparisons with the Apocryphal Gospels. The first is that of many of them only isolated sayings of Jesus have been preserved through the patristic literature, and as the *Toldoth* is concerned hardly at all with the words of Jesus, but mainly with incidents in his life, it is impossible to know whether, if we had the complete texts, there would be points of special agreement. The second difficulty is that, with the possible exception of the *Gospel of Peter*, the Apocryphal Gospels of which any substantial portions are available are not in their original state, and date at the earliest from the fourth century. The last difficulty is that the texts are sectional or very fragmentary, so that we have no complete life of Jesus outside the four canonical records.

The documents which we have to consider are all accessible to the layman being conveniently associated and translated in Dr. M. R. James' *Apocryphal New Testament*.

The needful texts fall into two main divisions (1) Infancy Gospels, (2) Passion Gospels, and are as follows: the *Book of James* or *Protevangelium* (BJ.), the principal texts are in Greek and Syriac; *Gospel of Thomas* (GT.), found in full in Greek and Latin, and also in an abbreviated Syriac version; *Gospel of Nicodemus* or *Acts of Pilate* (AP.), found in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Syriac and Armenian (the best Greek text has been used); *Story of Joseph of Arimathea* (JA.), a late Greek text; *Gospel of Gamaliel* (GG.), a Coptic fragment on two leaves; and lastly a Coptic leaf of a Gospel included in an MS. of *the Acts of Paul*.

These texts are by no means of equal value or antiquity; but only one is as late as the twelfth century; the others are fourth or fifth century. We may believe, however, that even the latest is not altogether devoid of early traditional elements.

The Book of James

Tj. i, 13

When he heard this, straightway he perceived that Joseph the son of Pandera had cast his eyes upon her, and that he had done this deed

Tj. i, 20

Then said John her betrothed, Not by me is she with child, Shall I abide here and bear my reproach every day from the children of men

Bj. xiii,

And (Joseph) smote his face . . . saying . . . Who is he that hath ensnared me? Who hath done this evil in mine house and hath defiled the virgin?

Bj. xv, 4

And the priest said unto Joseph, Wherefore hast thou done this? And Joseph said, As the Lord my God liveth I am pure as concerning her

The *Book of James* labours to disprove that Jesus was born of fornication, or that Joseph had anything to do with the matter. Joseph is of course the John of the *Toldoth*. The tone of *James* is distinctly apologetic where it deals with the miraculous conception. In view of an old oriental custom whereby women desiring children visited certain holy wells,

and received conception through the presiding saint, there was a natural and expressed suspicion that the archangel Gabriel (*gibor-el*) played more than the part of celestial messenger. *James* agrees that the annunciation took place at a well, and the *Toldoth* reflects the local attitude in describing the seducer as "a man of fair appearance, a warrior (*gibor*)."
James also agrees with the *Toldoth* in making Mary the daughter of Hannah.

The Gospel of Thomas

TJ. i, 22

His mother brought him before a teacher (whose name was Elkanan W.) that he might become learned in the law

GTa. vi, 1

And on the morrow he took him by the hand and led him to a certain teacher, Zacchaeus by name, and said unto him, Take this child, O master, and teach him letters

This tradition occurs quite frequently in the apocryphal literature, and is very early. It is opposed to the canonical tradition, "How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" (*John* vii, 15). The Gospels, however, may be referring to the higher grade of theological training, where the *Toldoth* and *Thomas* mean the elementary religious instruction given in the schools attached to the synagogues even in the provinces. In this case there would be no conflict. It is evident that the *Toldoth* here is in contact with extra-canonical tradition, and there is no need to jump to a hasty conclusion that the *Toldoth* is borrowing from *Thomas*. There is no improbability in the suggestion that both may be dependent on the same source.

TJ. i, 26-33

Now on a certain day the rabbis were debating; then began he to utter halachoth before them.

GTa. xix, 2-4

They found him in the temple sitting in the midst of the doctors and hearing and asking

Then said one of them unto him, Hast thou not heard that every-one that speaketh an halacha in the presence of his master is worthy of death? He saith to that wise man, Who is the master, and who is the disciple? . . . Now when the wise men heard this, they said, Since he is so very shameless, let us make inquisition concerning him. They sent to his mother, saying, Tell us, who was the father of this lad? She answered and said, He is the son of my husband John

them questions. And all men paid heed to him and marvelled how that being a young child he put to silence the elders and teachers of the people, expounding the heads of the law and the parables of the prophets. And his mother Mary came near and said unto him: Child, wherefore hast thou so done unto us? behold we have sought thee sorrowing. And Jesus said unto them: Why seek ye me? know ye not that I must be in my Father's house? But the scribes and Pharisees said: Art thou the mother of this child? and she said: I am

Allowing for the perverted viewpoint of the *Toldoth*, the accounts that we have here are essentially the same as *Luke* ii, 43-50, the only canonical Gospel that gives the story. *Thomas* and the *Toldoth*, however, agree against *Luke* in two particulars, so that it is unlikely that *Luke* is the source. The first is that Jesus plays a bolder part, showing that he is as wise as the teachers, and putting them to silence. The second is that the rabbis inquire of his mother as to his parentage.

Tj. iii, 16-20

Now the men of Galilee were making birds of clay. And he spake the letters of the Ineffable Name and they flapped their wings. The same hour they fell down before him . . . And they that were sent saw it and wondered. And Jesus said unto the horsemen, Go unto your mis-

GTa. ii, 2-5

Jesus . . . having made soft clay, he fashioned thereof twelve sparrows. And it was the sabbath when he did these things . . . And a certain Jew when he saw what Jesus did . . . departed straightway and told his father Joseph: Lo, thy child is at the brook, and he hath taken clay and fashioned

them, and tell her what ye have seen. Then the spirit lifted him up from the face of the waters and brought him to the dry land. So the horsemen departed and reported all these things to the queen.

twelve little birds, and hath polluted the sabbath day. And Joseph came to the place and saw : and cried out to him, saying : Wherefore doest thou these things on the sabbath, which it is not lawful to do ? But Jesus clapped his hands together and cried out to the sparrows and said to them : Go ! and the sparrows took their flight and went away chirping. And when the Jews saw it they were amazed, and departed and told their chief men that which they had seen Jesus do.

Thomas here presents us with a third version of an incident of which we have already noted two in the canonical Gospels, the embassy of the Baptist's disciples (*Matt.* xi, *Luke* vii), and that of the officers of the Sanhedrin (*John* vii). We need not make much of the fact that the story is placed in *Thomas* in the childhood of Jesus. The author's purpose is to fill in the blank years up to the time that Jesus was twelve years of age, and in order to do this he has related a number of miracles, some of which, like the raising of a dead child to life and the feeding of a multitude, seem to be reflections of incidents which occurred during Jesus' public ministry. There is no reason, therefore, why we should not regard the present story in the same light as being based on events which happened much later, and compare the details with the *Toldoth* and the Evangelists.

There are three elements in the story as given by *Thomas*, (1) the animation of the clay birds, (2) Jesus is breaking the sabbath (3) the departure and report of those who have witnessed Jesus' actions.

(1) In the animation of the clay sparrows *Thomas* compares uniquely with the *Toldoth*. There is no similar story given by the Evangelists. But we have already noted in our comparison of this section of the *Toldoth* with the canonical Gospels that all the incidents involved occur in consecutive chapters of the canonical records. We should look, therefore, in *Matt.* ix–xiii ; *Mark* ii–v ; *Luke* v–ix ; *John* v–vii for any possible agreements ; and this applies equally to the remaining elements. Now in this case we find in *Matt.* x, 31 in the charge to the apostles a saying of Jesus which may have some bearing, “Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows,” and we would suggest that it may be this saying with which the miracle in *Thomas* and the *Toldoth* is connected. Perhaps there were children playing beside Jesus, and they had moulded birds out of the clay on the sea-shore. Jesus says to his disciples, “Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, etc.” Then pointing to the clay birds, he continues : “Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing ? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.” Jesus claps his hands, and cries to the birds, “Go !” and the sparrows come to life and fly away chirping. And when the disciples are amazed, Jesus says, “Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows.” Jesus demonstrates that he is the resurrection and the life : God has power over the inanimate clay to bring it to life at the last day.

(2) Now the complaint in *Thomas* is that Jesus was breaking the Sabbath, and when we turn to the associated incidents in the Synoptics we find a story of the disciples plucking ears of corn and eating the grain on the Sabbath (*Matt.* xii, 1 ; *Mark* ii, 23 ; *Luke* vi, 1). The Pharisees question this action.

GTa. iii, 4

The Synoptics

And Joseph came to the place and saw : and cried out to him, saying, Why doest thou these things on the sabbath, which it is not lawful to do ?

And the Pharisees saw it and said unto them (or him), Why do ye that which is not lawful to do on the sabbath days ?

Nearby in all three Gospels we have the story of Jesus healing the man with the withered hand on the Sabbath, and Jesus turns the same question against the Pharisees : " Then said Jesus unto them, I will ask you one thing ; Is it lawful on the sabbath days to do good, or to do evil ? to save life, or to destroy it ? " (See *Luke* vi, 9 and parallels.) In the related section in *John* healing on the Sabbath is introduced at *John* vii, 22-23, carrying back to the healing of the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda in chapter v. The Jews say to the cured man, " It is the sabbath day : it is not lawful for thee to carry thy bed. . . . The man departed, and told the Jews that it was Jesus which had made him whole. And therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the sabbath day." The curious thing in *John* is that the proper continuity is broken. Jesus leaves Jerusalem, where the miracle occurred, and goes back to Galilee " for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him." Later, however, at the next feast, he returns to Jerusalem and the argument about the healing on the Sabbath is resumed. " Jesus answered and said unto them, I have done one work, and ye all marvel. . . . Are ye angry at me, because I have made a man every whit whole on the sabbath day ? . . . Then said some of them of Jerusalem, Is not this he whom they seek to kill ? But, lo, he speaketh boldly, and they say nothing unto him."

The canonical Gospels thus link up with *Thomas* in the idea that the saving or giving of life takes precedence over

the Sabbath. When we connect up and delve into these stories, we discover that though the final versions of the traditions differ in many respects, yet fundamentally they are consistent, and authentic events are behind them.

(3) We come now to the third element, the report of the witnesses. Here again we find the *Toldoth*, *Thomas* and the canonical Gospels agreeing in some particular that is part of the same set of events. The elders are angered that Jesus should violate their code, and take council to destroy him (*Matt.* xii, 14 ; *Mark* iii, 6 ; *Luke* vi, 11 ; *John* v, 16). In the *Toldoth* also the elders desire to compass his death, and justify their action by the deuteronomic law concerning the false prophet. The sequel in the *Toldoth* and *John* is that officers are sent to take Jesus. The Synoptics substitute for this the embassy of the Baptist's disciples. *Thomas* omits the incident. But all the records alike end on the same note.

Toldoth

And they that were sent (from the elders) saw it and wondered. And Jesus said unto the horsemen, Go unto your mistress, and tell her what ye have seen. . . . So the horsemen departed and reported all these things to the queen. And the queen trembled and was greatly amazed.

Thomas

And when the Jews saw it they were amazed, and departed and told their chief men that which they had seen Jesus do.

Luke

Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard. . . . And when the messengers of John were departed. . . .

John

Then came the officers to the chief priests and Pharisees ; and they said unto them, Why have ye not brought him ? The officers answered, Never man spake like this man.

Only one other point arises before we pass on to the next document. In *Thomas* the scene is laid by a brook, and it is probable that this is a deliberate substitution for the Sea of Galilee, where the *Toldoth* and the Synoptics locate it, in order to give a diminutive impression agreeable to the incident being placed in the childhood of Jesus.

Joseph of Arimathea

Joseph is the latest and least reliable of the Apocryphal Gospels which we are consulting. It is interesting, however, for three pieces of information which it gives us, and which are connected with the *Toldoth*. In *Joseph* i, 2 we learn that Demas, one of the robbers afterwards crucified with Jesus, "had stolen the law itself at Jerusalem, and stripped the daughter of Caiaphas, who was a priestess of the sanctuary, and he took away even the mystic deposit of Solomon which had been deposited in the holy place." Later we are told, that through the craft of Judas these misdeeds are attributed to Jesus. Somewhere behind this story there may lie a tradition similar to that of the *Toldoth* that Jesus stole the Ineffable Name from the sanctuary, and thereby was able to perform his miracles. We can trace this tradition at least as far back as the end of the third century, for Arnobius, in his treatise *Against the Nations*, mentions (i, 43) that the claims of Jesus were contested on the ground that "he was a magician ; he did all his works by secret arts ; from the shrines of the Egyptians he stole the names of angelic powers and hidden disciplines."

We are told further in *Joseph* i, 3, that the Jewish elders sent for Judas Iscariot "who was brother's son to Caiaphas, and had been persuaded by the Jews to become a disciple of Jesus, not to follow his teachings, but in order to betray him." This what we find in the Wagenseil text of the *Toldoth*, where Judas offers the elders to bring Jesus to justice, and goes and feigns himself to be one of his disciples.

There is also in *Joseph* ii, 1-4 a strange story of a plot against Jesus, which involves his temporary release after being arrested. We may quote the following extract :

On the morrow, being Wednesday, at the ninth hour, they brought him (Jesus) into the hall of Caiaphas, and Annas and Caiaphas asked him, Why didst thou take away the law? He was silent. Why wouldst thou destroy the temple of Solomon? He was silent. . . . Then Annas and Caiaphas privily gave gold to Judas and said, Say as you said before, that it was Jesus who stole the law. Judas agreed, but said, The people must not know that you have told me this : and you must let Jesus go, and I will persuade them. So they fraudulently let Jesus go. . . . Towards evening (of Thursday) he obtained a guard of soldiers. As they went, Judas said, Whomsoever I shall kiss, take him : he it is that stole the law and the prophets. He came to Jesus and kissed him, saying, Hail, Rabbi ! They took Jesus to Caiaphas and examined him, Why didst thou do this ? But he answered nothing. Nicodemus and I (Joseph of Arimathea) left the seat of the pestilent, and would not consent to perish in the council of sinners. They did many evil things to Jesus that night, and on the dawn of Friday delivered him to Pilate.

There is certainly some resemblance in this story to *Tŷ*. iii : 32-40 ; iv, 5-11. The principal difference is that in the

Toldoth Jesus is rescued by his disciples after his first arrest, whereas here his temporary release is all part of the plot against him. *Joseph* is a very anti-Jewish work, and shows extreme ignorance of Jewish customs ; but this is not to say, as we have already partly shown, that the author has not drawn on some earlier and more reliable traditions. It is of consequence that there should exist this testimony to two arrests of Jesus, and it cannot for a moment be suggested that the compiler of the *Toldoth* had read *Joseph*.

It is to be noted that the execution of Jesus is given as taking place on a Friday, and that in the earthquake which accompanied his last moments, our text says, not that the veil of the temple was rent, but that in the doom of the sanctuary the pinnacle of the temple fell. This is worthy of remembrance, because in *Hebrews*, Jerome tells us, "we read, not that the veil of the temple was rent, but that a lintel of the temple of wondrous size fell."¹ There is the possibility that *Joseph* has preserved some traditions that were also in the Hebrew Gospel, and our theory is that the *Toldoth* is a parody of that ancient evangel. When, therefore, we find *Joseph* having some ideas in common with the *Toldoth* we may feel that we are on the right track. Apart from these associations *Joseph* seems to have a great deal in common with the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, a work of Nazarene origin, which would carry his sources back at least seven centuries. *Nicodemus*, as we shall see, has also several agreements with the *Toldoth*.

Acts of Paul

The next reference, a Gospel fragment attached to the *Acts of Paul*, is offered rather doubtfully ; but there seems to be a certain sympathy of ideas with the end of chapter ii

¹ *Ep. ad Hedebr.* 8.

and the beginning of chapter iii of the *Toldoth*, and it has therefore been included.

... the works ... they wondered greatly and pondered in their hearts. He said unto them, Why marvel ye that I raise the dead, or that I make the lame to go, or that I cleanse the lepers or raise up the sick, or that I have healed the palsied and the possessed, or that I have parted a few loaves and satisfied many, or that I have walked on the sea or that I have commanded the winds? If ye believe this and are convinced, then are ye great. For verily I say unto you, If ye say unto this mountain, Lift thyself and be cast into the sea, without having doubted in your soul, it shall happen unto you. . . .¹ As one of them was convinced, whose name was Simon, and who said, O Lord, verily great are the works which thou doest. For we have never heard nor have we seen ever a man that hath raised the dead, save thee. . . .

Gospel of Nicodemus (Acts of Pilate)

Our final references in this chapter are taken from two sectional Passion Gospels. The principal one of these is *Nicodemus*, or the *Acts of Pilate*. In its present form it dates back to the fourth century. There are a number of texts, and the one quoted is fairly satisfactory in the absence of a critical edition.

Tf. iii, 1-2

Now when the wise men saw that all were believing in him, straightway they bound him and led him before Helene the queen. . . . They said unto her, This man is a sorcerer

AP. i, 1

For the chief priests and scribes assembled in council . . . and came unto Pilate accusing Jesus for many deeds, saying . . . He is a sorcerer. . . .

¹ Did the compiler of the *Toldoth* substitute millstone for mountain?

T $\mathcal{J}$. iii, 22-23

Then said they to her, Lady, lay not his affairs to heart. Send messengers and bring him now and his reproach shall be made plain. In the same hour she sent messengers

AP. i, 2

The Jews say unto Pilate, We beseech thy majesty that he appear before thy judgment-seat and be heard . . . And Pilate called the messenger and said to him, Let Jesus be brought hither

T $\mathcal{J}$. iv, 2-3

(Jesus) riding on an ass. . . In that same hour they all cried aloud, and bowed down before him

AP. i, 3

I saw (Jesus) sitting upon an ass, and the children of the Hebrews held branches in their hands and cried out

T $\mathcal{J}$. i, 38

Joseph the son of Pandera sought occasion for fornication every day

AP. ii, 3

Thou wast born of fornication . . . thy father Joseph

In AP. ix, 5 there is a reference to the garden, but here it is the Garden of Gethsemane. Pilate says: "Therefore have I decreed that thou shouldst be . . . hanged upon the cross in the garden wherein thou wast taken."

T $\mathcal{J}$. v, 19

I stole him on account of the tumults, that they should not take him away

AP. xiii, 1

There came certain of the guard which the Jews had asked of Pilate to keep the sepulchre of Jesus lest . . . his disciples should come and steal him away

These comparisons may be left without comment in view of what has been said already. We therefore pass on to our final document in this chapter.

The Gospel of Gamaliel

This is a Coptic fragment attributed to the teacher of Paul. It is not quoted verbatim by James, but the sense is clear. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the first text we have found where there is any story comparable to the

Toldoth account that the body of Jesus was taken and buried in the sand under the waters of a canal that flowed through the garden.

In *Gamaliel* Pilate examines four soldiers who had been guarding the tomb about their story that the body of Jesus had been stolen. Pilate goes with the Jews to the tomb, and finds it empty. Joseph and Nicodemus are sent for. Then the Jews "point out to Pilate that in a well in the garden there is the body of a crucified man. . . . Then all go to the well. 'I, Gamaliel, followed also among the band.' They see the body, and the Jews cry, 'Behold the sorcerer!'" Pilate asks Joseph and Nicodemus whether this is the body of Jesus. They answer, the grave clothes are his, but the body is that of the thief who was crucified with him. The Jews are angry and wish to throw Joseph and Nicodemus into the well." Pilate says to the Jews, "You believe that this is truly the Nazarene." They say, "Yes," "Then," says Pilate, "it is but right to lay his body in his own tomb. . . ."

"Here the leaf ends," says James, "but we can see that when the body is laid in Jesus' tomb it will revive and declare the truth." James also notes that an Arabic *Life of Pilate*, extant in manuscript at Paris (*Arab.* 160), seems likely to contain the whole story, of which we here have the fragments. An Ethiopic MS. also gives the story of the placing of another body in the tomb of Jesus, which comes to life.

The value of these stories is that they show an awareness of some such account as is contained in the *Toldoth*. They are an apologetic, designed to counteract the Jewish tale, which must have been in existence at an early date. They do not deny that the body of a crucified man was found in a well in the garden near the tomb of Jesus; but they claim that it was not his body, but that of the thief executed with

him. This is a definite addition to the report, which in the canonical Gospels is uniquely stated by Matthew to be "commonly reported among the Jews to this day" (xxviii, 15). If our theory is correct that the *Toldoth* is a parody of *Hebrews*, which was regarded by the Church Fathers as the original *Matthew*, then we may believe that some form of the canal (well) in the garden story, and the body of the crucified man there, stood in the source text.

To summarize the evidence of this chapter, we may merely say that these Apocryphal Gospels show that a great deal of the extra-canonical matter found in the *Toldoth* has the support of Christian tradition, much of which goes back to a very early date. Yet the way in which the *Toldoth* treats such material indicates that it is not dependent on any of these Gospels, or on all combined, but instead reflects a text which gave kindred details in the same way that this text supplied canonical matter. The arrangement in the *Toldoth* shows no haphazard conjunction of a variety of traditions, which in any case would argue a wide and unlikely range of Christian reading for a Jew, but a logical sequence and a distinctive version at all points where it may be compared with Christian evangelical remains.

CHAPTER VI

THE "TOLDOTH" AND THE GOSPEL OF PETER

THE Apocryphal Gospels which we have consulted so far have been sectional Gospels. We have now to consider a document, which although it is only a fragment was once part of a complete Gospel dating back at least as early as the middle of the second century, the well-known *Gospel of Peter*. It is therefore an important witness, all the more important as according to Theodoret it was made use of by the Nazarenes.¹ The substantial fragment which was discovered in 1884 in a tomb at Akhmim in Egypt deals with the Passion and Resurrection. *Peter* is definitely on the borderline of canonicity. It was read as Scripture in churches in the second century, and it was only abandoned on account of certain docetic tendencies. The translation we shall employ is that of James, with the verse numberings of Harnack.

Tf. iii, 35

When the queen heard this she
. . . said to the wise men of
Israel, See, he is in your hands

GP. 2

And then Herod the king com-
manded that the Lord should be
taken (into their hands), saying
unto them, All that I commanded
you to do unto him, do ye

Tf. iv, 25

When they had let him hang
until the time of afternoon
prayer, they took him down

GP. 5

And Herod said . . . Even if
none had begged for him, we
should have buried him, since also

¹ *Haer. Fab.* ii, 2.

from the tree (for so) it is written, His body shall not remain all night upon the tree. Then they buried him

Tf. v, 10

A certain man had taken him forth from his grave and brought him into his garden . . . and buried him

Tf. iv, 18

Then began the insurgents to lament

Tf. v, 19

Then said the keeper of garden . . . I stole him on account of the insurgents, that they should not take him away and have an open mouth for ever

Tf. v, 1

When the first day of the week was come the insurgents of his people were weeping by his grave

Tf. v, 2

Some of the young men of Israel passed by them: they spoke . . . Let us satisfy ourselves

In certain features there is evidently a closer approximation of *Peter* to the *Toldoth* than to any of the canonical Gospels, *Peter* mentions the garden, the lamentation of the disciples, the threat of stealing the body, the lamentation of the women, and the young men entering the tomb. *Peter* also

the sabbath dawneth; for it is written in the law that the sun shall not set upon one that hath been slain

GP. 24

And he took the Lord . . . and brought him unto his own sepulchre, called the Garden of Joseph

GP. 27

And we sat mourning and weeping night and day

GP. 29-30

The elders . . . came unto Pilate . . . saying: Give us soldiers that we may watch his sepulchre . . . lest his disciples come and steal him away and the people suppose that he is risen from the dead

GP. 50-52

Now early on the Lord's day Mary Magdalene . . . took with her the friends . . . and said. Even if we were not able to weep and lament him on that day whereon he was crucified, yet let us now do so at his tomb

GP. 36-38

They saw . . . two men . . . and the sepulchre was opened and both of the young men entered in

agrees that the crucifixion took place on Friday, on the eve of the Passover and the Sabbath.

These however are not the only points that give weight to the testimony of *Peter*.

We have already seen reason to suspect that in the source text of the *Toldoth* Queen Helene stands for Herod the tetrarch, who was responsible for the first arrest of Jesus. Now here in *Peter* we find that the principal part in the trial is played by Herod.

But of the Jews no man washed his hands, neither Herod nor any one of his judges : and whereas they would not wash, Pilate rose up. And then Herod the king commanded that the Lord should be taken (into their hands), saying unto them : All that I commanded you to do unto him, do ye.

This goes a great deal further than *Luke*, who only says that after Jesus had been set at naught and mocked by Herod and his soldiery, Herod sent him back again to Pilate for judgment.

Another passage (GP. 34) is also very significant. *Peter* says :—

And early in the morning as the sabbath dawned, there came a multitude from Jerusalem and the region round about to see the sepulchre that had been sealed.

The only other reference to this multitude that the writer has been able to discover links on directly to the *Toldoth*. It is in Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* xxx. Apostrophizing the Jews, he exclaims : “ This is he whom his disciples have stolen away secretly, that it may be said that he is risen, or the gardener abstracted that his lettuces might not be damaged by the crowds of visitors ! ” We shall deal with this curious statement later on ; it is sufficient here to re-

mark that the Church Father is aware of the tradition that the body of Jesus was taken away by the gardener, and that multitudes visited the sepulchre, thus bringing together elements that we find in the *Toldoth* and *Peter*.

The evidence of *Peter* thus confirms the conclusions summarized at the end of the previous chapter.

CHAPTER VII

THE "TOLDOTH" AND THE PATRISTIC LITERATURE

It is needless for the purpose of our thesis, even if considerations of space permitted, to give anything like an exhaustive catalogue of references in early Christian literature where a verbal or narrative resemblance to the *Toldoth* may be noted ; but we may select from the writings of the Church Fathers one or two representative documents which are of special importance because their authors were in contact with Jewish or with Jewish Christian tradition. Of the former, the most noteworthy, and in fact unique, is Origen's *Contra Celsum*, in that the neo-Platonist whom Origen refutes introduces a Jew who professes to give the true history of Jesus as it is known to the Jews. The material here is sufficiently ample to require a chapter to itself. Of the latter, we particularly select the works of Justin Martyr and the Clementines. We have already quoted Arnobius and Tertullian, and incidental reference to other Christian authorities will be made on specific points.

The principal work of Justin Martyr's now extant is his *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho*. We have also two *Apologies* of his. Justin hailed from Samaria, and was born at Flavia Neapolis, the ancient Shechem and the modern Nablus, about 114 A.D. His writings with which we are concerned date from about 155-160 A.D. The scene of the *Dialogue* is laid at Ephesus, and the Jew Trypho and his companions whom Justin encounters are refugees from the

Hadrianic campaign against the pseudo-Messiah Bar Cochba. The time indicated, therefore, must be shortly after 140 A.D., though the literary composition is many years later. Justin reveals that he was familiar with and tolerant towards those Christians, who if not of Jewish origin at least adhered to the Jewish Christian view of Jesus and Christianity. His evangelical authorities, moreover, which he calls *Memoirs of the Apostles*, are by no means certainly our canonical Gospels. It is held by many that he used the *Gospel of Peter*, and perhaps a Greek version of *Hebrews*.

Justin is aware that the Jews publish and circulate stories against Jesus, and claims that pagan opponents of Christianity obtained their polemical weapons from the Jewish armoury. In *Dial.* xvii, he says :

After you (Jews) had crucified him (Jesus) . . . when you knew that he had risen from the dead and ascended to heaven, as the prophets foretold he would, you not only did not repent of the wickedness which you had committed, but at that time you selected and sent out from Jerusalem chosen men through all the land to tell that the godless heresy of the Christians had sprung up, and to publish those things which all they who knew us not speak against us. . . . Accordingly, you displayed great zeal in publishing throughout all the land the bitter and dark and unjust things against the only blameless and righteous Light sent by God.

In *Dial.* cviii this statement is repeated with additions.

As I said before, you have sent chosen and ordained men throughout all the world to proclaim that a godless and lawless heresy had sprung from one Jesus, a Galilean deceiver, whom we crucified, but his disciples stole him

by night from the tomb, where he was laid when unfastened from the cross, and now deceive men by asserting that he has risen from the dead and ascended to heaven. Moreover, you accuse him of having taught those godless lawless, and unholy doctrines which you mention to the condemnation of those who confess him to be the Messiah, and a teacher from and son of God.

Elsewhere, *Dial.* cxxxvii, he urges Trypho and his companions "not to obey the pharisaic teachers, nor scoff at the king of Israel, as the rulers of the synagogues teach you to do after your prayers."

One cannot gather from these statements that Justin had first-hand knowledge of what the Jews said about Jesus. The form of his remarks makes it appear that he has based them on some written source. A similar, but by no means identical, statement is still found in *Matt.* xxvii-xxviii. In the *Toldoth* (v, 17-19) there are also traces of the Jewish statement, which is nearer to those of Justin in several respects. Justin, however, is mistaken in saying that the Jews chose special men, and sent them forth from Jerusalem throughout the world to proclaim that the godless heresy of the Christians had sprung up. In fact it was the Christian apostles of whom the Jews were speaking as we may see from the *Toldoth* "Acts" (Wagenseil's text) :

And there went forth twelve wicked ones, sons of insurgents, and they traversed twelve kingdoms and proclaimed in their public places false prophecies. And some of Israel went astray after them, and these were men of repute, who strengthened the faith of Jesus, for they said they were apostles of the hanged one, and much people of the children of Israel adhered to them.

Justin had no doubt heard from the Nazarenes the perverted Jewish story of the sending forth of the apostles,

and in his recollection had got the sense of it wrong. The Jews, like the compiler of the *Toldoth*, had based their version on what they read in the Hebrew Gospel. Justin, of course, was not ignorant of the Nazarene account, for in *I Apol.* xxxix he quotes the prophetic *testimonium* "Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (*Isaiah* ii, 3), and remarks :

That it did come to pass, we can convince you—For from Jerusalem there went forth into the world men, twelve in number, and these illiterate, of no ability in speaking: but by the power of God they proclaimed to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach to all the word of God.

We may go even further, for there exists a single leaf in Coptic giving the last lines of an unidentified Gospel bound up with a fifth-century manuscript of the *Pistis Sophia*, and which we venture to suggest is very close to what was read in *Hebrews*. The fragment runs as follows :

... the just one. They went forth by threes to the four regions of the heaven and preached the gospel of the kingdom in the whole world, Christ working with them by the word of strengthening and the signs and wonders which accompanied them. And so have men learned of the Kingdom of God in all the earth and in the whole world of Israel for a testimony for all nations that are from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof.

Our *Toldoth* text witnesses that its source contained something along these lines (*Tŷ.* vi, 1-3).

Then fled his (twelve) disciples and dispersed themselves among the kingdoms ; three of them to mount Ararat ; three of them to Armenia ; and three to Rome ; and the rest to other places, and they caused the people to

err. . . . And many of our own insurgents went astray after him (Jesus), and there was strife between them and the children of Israel.

The Hebrew *Josippon* has inserted part of this in the place where the Roman emperor Caius Caligula had ordered that all men should worship him as a god. In an uncensored copy of the Mantua edition printed before 1470, and in a manuscript copy of the same period preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale,¹ we read :

In those days there were wars and quarrels in Judea between the Pharisees and the insurgents of our people who followed the son of Joseph (Paris MS. "who followed Jesus the son of Pandera, the Nazarene").

The Coptic fragment, which we have quoted, is quite Jewish in style, and it is not difficult to distinguish the equally Hebraic and very similar Jewish Christian material underlying the *Toldoth* text. We note especially the coincidence of the sending forth of the apostles by threes. The present ending to *Mark* appears to be only a gentilized variation of the Nazarene text. The evidence in support of our thesis is here particularly strong.

In another passage Justin seems to have been taught by the Jewish Christians. Speaking of God's Name as Father and Lord of the Universe (a Hebraism) being pronounced over those who are baptized, he says (1 *Apol.* lxi) that God is only to be referred to thus, "for no one can utter the (real) Name of the Ineffable God ; and if anyone even dares to say that there is a Name, he raves with a hopeless madness." In the *Toldoth* is told how Jesus acquires the use of the Ineffable Name, which was closely guarded lest he who possessed it might (out of madness) destroy the world.

¹ Hebr. MS. 1280. See Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus*, pp. 96-99.

The Memoirs of the Apostles

Following the *Toldoth* order we may now proceed to quote some further passages from the *Dialogue* which have a bearing on our investigation, and on the character of the *Memoirs*.

And Joseph, the betrothed of Mary, who wished at first to put away Mary his betrothed, supposing her to be pregnant by intercourse with a man, i.e., from fornication, was commanded in a vision not to put away his wife (*Dial.* lxxv-iii).

In the context Justin mentions several matters which are not in our canonical Gospels, but some of which are in the *Book of James*, which we have seen to have points of contact with the *Toldoth*. Justin twice (*Dial.* cv, cvi) states that his account of the birth of Jesus came from the *Memoirs*. *Matthew* does not say in so many words that Joseph believed Mary to be guilty of adultery ; but it is clear that he thought so. No doubt the *Memoirs* and the *Toldoth* source used great plainness of speech in truly oriental fashion. Only such a text could have justified the perversion of the story by the compiler, who has no real animus and is even at pains to make it clear that the unfortunate occurrence was not Mary's fault.

(Jesus) waited for thirty years, more or less, until John appeared before him as the herald of his approach (*Dial.* lxxviii. Cf. *Tj.* i, 33).

(At his baptism) there came from the heavens a voice, which was uttered also by David when he spoke, personating Christ, what the Father would say to him : Thou art my son : this day have I begotten thee (*Dial.* lxxxviii. Cf. *Tj.* ii, 13).

The Scripture says that these enumerated powers of

the Spirit (i.e., in *Isaiah* xi, 2) have come on him . . . because they would rest in him. . . . Accordingly he (the Spirit) rested, when he (Jesus) came . . . and having received their rest in him . . . become gifts, which, from the grace of his Spirit's powers, he imparts to those who believe in him, according as he deems each man worthy thereof (*Dial.* lxxxvii).

These three quotations which come close together are all connected with the baptism, as are some other matters in the same context for which authority is only found in *Hebrews*, or MSS. readings derived from it. These include the kindling of a fire in the Jordan when Jesus was baptized, the fact that he did not stand in need of baptism, and two others contained in our quotations, that the fullness of the Spirit had rested in him, and the voice from heaven using the words of *Psalms* ii, 7. We have noted that Paul in *1 Cor.* xii, 1-13, associates the distribution of spiritual gifts with baptism. This is all part of the doctrine that all the powers of the Spirit were united in Christ, who thereafter is able to re-distribute these powers or gifts to his disciples. The *Toldoth* substitutes the story of the theft of the Ineffable Name to show how Jesus acquired his powers.

Justin, further in the same context, says that when Jesus came to be baptized "he was deemed to be a carpenter; for he was in the habit of working as a carpenter when among men, making ploughs and yokes." Now Origen in this particular contradicts Celsus and incidentally Justin, and in spite of *Mark* vi, 3 he says: "In none of the Gospels current in the churches is Jesus himself ever described as a carpenter" (*C. Cels.* Bk. vi, 36). No doubt what Justin here found in the *Memoirs* was in the Hebrew Gospel. *Thomas*, in words that remind us strongly of Justin, states of Joseph: "Now his (Jesus') father was a carpenter and

made at that time ploughs and yokes" (*GT.* xiii, 1). We may ask the pregnant question whether *Hebrews* was used by the authors of some of the Apocryphal Gospels as the foundation on which they built up their religious romances? So many of these documents claim, directly or indirectly, to have been derived from Hebrew originals.

It is written in the *Memoirs* that some of your nation, questioning him, said, Show unto us a sign (*Dial.* cvii. Cf. *Tʿy.* ii, 17).

Here the words spoken agree exactly with the *Toldoth*. None of the canonical Gospels have this agreement. The nearest is *Matt.* xii, 38, "Master, we would see a sign of thee."

And having raised the dead, and causing them to live, by his deeds he compelled the men who lived at that time to recognize him. But though they saw such works, they asserted it was magical art. For they dared to call him a magician, and a deceiver of the people (*Dial.* lxix. Cf. *Tʿy.* iii, 2 ff.).

Again Justin is nearer to the *Toldoth* than any of the Gospels. *John* has only "he deceiveth the people" (vii, 12).

But his disciples stole him by night from the tomb (*Dial.* cviii. Cf. *Tʿy.* v, 19).

Here for the present we may leave Justin. But we claim to have shown that in those points in which Justin's *Memoirs of the Apostles* permit of comparison with the *Toldoth* there is support for the view that the compiler's source and Justin's had much in common, and sometimes agreed together against the canonical Gospels. If the *Toldoth* had not been so abbreviated by the exclusion of so much of the teaching and acts of Jesus, no doubt these agreements would have been multiplied.

The Clementines

The Clementines, *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, have always offered a difficult problem to scholars. We have the former in a Greek text, the latter in the Latin translation of Rufinus, in which there is a strong suspicion that certain passages have been modified and Gospel quotations harmonized with the canonical texts. The first three books of the *Recognitions*, and some other short sections, are also extant in Syriac, and it is likely that this was the language of the original form of the work. Indeed there is a Syriac *Life of Clement* in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, which was one of the documents included in the Clementine literature, the others being the *Travels of Peter* and the *Preaching of Peter*, and possibly the *Ascents of James*, the combination of all these making up the work in the forms which we now possess.

The importance of the Clementines is that they emanate from an Ebionite Christian circle in the late second century. The doctrines taught are those of the Jewish Christian Church in its most uncompromising and ascetic form, while the Gospel quoted is an extreme version of *Hebrews*.

With regard to the history of Jesus himself there are not many points of contact between the Clementines and the *Toldoth*, which is due solely to the abbreviated character of the latter. By far the most significant aspect of the Clementines is the treatment of the arch-enemy Simon Magus. He is the great perverter of sound Christian doctrine, and occupies in Jewish Christian thought the very same place as does Jesus in the mind of the compiler of the *Toldoth* as the perverter of Jewish doctrine. Somewhere under a mass of accumulated Jewish and Jewish Christian legend there must be some historical truth about Simon, the Samaritan pseudo-Messiah ; but it is almost impossible to extricate.

Before the middle of the second century Simon had already become a monstrous caricature of Jesus in Jewish Christian literature, so that it is no wonder that the Jews, who had managed to keep the two distinct at this period, had got them quite confused little more than a century later. This is possibly why the compiler of the *Toldoth*, where he forsakes his source, borrows from the Jewish Christian portrait of the Magus his own description of Jesus. To him they were one and the same.

The Clementines are strongly mystical, and the ideas expressed agree in many respects with the contemporary Jewish mysticism as reflected in the *Sefer Yetzirah* and other remains. This phase both of Nazarenism and Rabbinism developed as a result of the frustration of political hopes, and came into special prominence after the disastrous revolt of Bar Cochba. If anything the development was rather earlier in Nazarenism than in Rabbinism, for the Jewish Christians had given up their political aspirations shortly after the suppression of the first revolt in A.D. 71. The transition is marked by the *Book of Revelation*. These considerations help us further to date the oldest strata of Clementine material at about or shortly after the middle of the second century.

In arranging our references we shall give first those that relate to Jesus, and afterwards those that relate to Simon Magus.

God first anointed (Jesus) with oil which was taken from the wood of the Tree of Life : from that anointing therefore he is called Messiah. Thence, also, he himself, according to the appointment of his Father, anoints with similar oil every one of the pious when they come to his kingdom . . . so that their light may shine, and being filled with the Holy Spirit, they may be endowed with immortality (*Recog.* i, 45).

This mystical conception connects with the baptism of Jesus. It is no part of our task to enter deeply into the doctrines of the Nazarenes, which would require a separate book ; but we may explain shortly that the view was held that at the creation God set a spiritual being of its own order over everything that He made, a tree over trees, a bird over birds, and finally a man over men. Adam was made in the likeness of his heavenly counterpart the *Adam Kadmon*, the architypal man, who was the Messiah or Christ. As an equivalent to the celestial anointing the terrestrial anointing was given to Adam, and to all his prophetic, priestly, and kingly successors in Israel, until Jesus came, when at the Jordan the heavenly anointed joined the earthly anointed in the descent of the dove. As we read in *Hebrews*, at that instant a fire was kindled in the river, signifying the presence of a divine being, and Jesus arose as Jesus Christ, a voice proclaiming, "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee." Only the application to Jesus is Jewish Christian, the rest of this mystical teaching is quite Jewish. According to an early Midrash (*Gen. R.* vii, 1) the Spirit that moved on the face of the waters in *Gen.* i, 2, was the Spirit of Messiah, of whom it is said "the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him" (*Isa.* xi). *Adam Kadmon*, the architypal man was compounded of these qualities of the Spirit. Jesus, after his baptism, being the final repository of the Spirit, for it had rested in him, could now confer its several gifts on those who accepted him. The doctrine of the Clementines thus agrees with the Hebrew Gospel, Justin's *Memoirs*, and all that we have already adduced on the acquisition by Jesus of spiritual powers.

The replacement in the *Toldoth* of the theft of the divine Name for the baptismal story is further explained by our next quotation.

And in order that he (Jesus) might be believed that he uttered these things full of the divinity, he wrought many wonderful miracles and signs by his mere command, as having received power from God. For he made . . . the lame to walk . . . and even scabbed lepers . . . were sent away cured by him ; and the dead, being brought to him, were raised (*Hom.* i, 6).

In *Tŷ.* ii, 19–22 ; iii, 8, Jesus performs the same miracles and signs by speaking the word of power. In the canonical Gospels the centurion asks Jesus to “ speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed ” (*Matt.* viii, 8). Luke has “ say in a word ” (vii, 7). So also in the Old Russian version of Josephus, where some interpolations derive from Jewish Christian tradition, it is stated of Jesus : “ His works were divine ; he wrought miracles wonderful and strong. . . . And all, whatsoever he wrought through an invisible power he wrought by a word and command.”

From the passage in the *Homilies* we may further note that this authority agrees with the *Toldoth* against the canonical Gospels in the suggestion that the dead were brought to Jesus, and revived. In the evangelists Jesus goes to where the dead lie.

Still further he said, I am he concerning whom Moses prophesied, saying, A prophet shall the Lord our God raise unto you of your brethren, like unto me : him hear in all things ; and whosoever will not hear that prophet shall die (*Hom.* iii, 53).

It is a feature of the *Toldoth* that Jesus quotes messianic prophecies of himself, instead of the “ that it might be fulfilled ” of the evangelists’ comments. This prophecy is quoted, but not by Jesus, at *Tŷ.* iii, 5 : it is not quoted at all by our Gospels, but twice in *Acts* (iii, 22 ; vii, 37).

The signs and miracles which your Jesus wrought, he wrought not as a prophet, but as a magician (*Recog.* i, 58. Cf. *Tŷ.* iii, 2 ff).

For some of them (i.e., the Jews), watching the place with all care, when they could not prevent his rising again, said that he was a magician ; others pretended that he was stolen away (*Recog.* i, 42).

This completes the Jesus references which we need to quote. We come now to those that concern Simon Magus. According to the Clementines, Simon was a Samaritan by birth, which is also stated by Justin, born in the village of Gitthae, the son of a certain Antonius and his wife Rachel. He went to Egypt as a young man, and at Alexandria acquired a knowledge of magic. He had formerly for a short time been a disciple of John the Baptist. After the death of John he returned to Palestine ambitious to be accounted a divine being, or at any rate a Messiah. When he rejoined the disciples of John, he found a man called Dosthai (Dositheus) acting as leader, and by his superior powers soon took his place. Shortly after this Dosthai died. Among the disciples of John was a woman called Helene (the Latin *Recognitions* give the name as Luna, which would presume a Greek Selene) ; she attracted Simon, and he made her his consort. Simon now proclaimed himself as the Christ, the Standing One. Elsewhere, by Irenaeus and Hippolytus, we are told that Helene was originally a prostitute in a brothel at Tyre, where Simon found her, and made her the centre of a mystical gnostic system in which she figured as the erring Wisdom. His teaching was embodied in a book called the *Great Announcement*. Finally, says Hippolytus, when his end drew near, he commanded his disciples to dig a grave and bury him alive, promising to rise the third day, a promise which he failed to keep.

Others give him a different end, by falling from a demon-borne chariot while flying in the air in the presence of Nero and the apostle Peter in the Campus Martius at Rome.

The resemblance to the *Toldoth* and to the Christian records of Jesus come out even in this faint outline of the life of Simon Magus ; but the likeness is much more apparent when we come to examine some of the details as given in the Clementines.

In the first place we note in *Recog.* ii, 14, that Simon claimed to be born of a virgin. " My mother Rachel . . . while still a virgin, conceived me."

In *Recog.* iii, 63, it is said " he was a magician and a deceiver " (Cf. *Tj.* iii, 2).

The *Homilies* also offer some illuminating passages.

He having disciplined himself greatly in Alexandria, and being very powerful in magic . . . and sometimes intimating that he is Christ, he styles himself the Standing One (*Stadios*)—(*Hom.* ii, 22).

Simon is going about in company with Helena . . . being queen, as the all-bearing one, and wisdom (*Hom.* ii, 25).

In order to deceive the godly, he said that he did by means of divinity, the things that were done by magic (*Hom.* ii, 27).

And what are the wonders that he works ? . . . sometimes he flies (*Hom.* ii, 32).

We must pause here to consider the full implications of these statements. The assertion that Simon Magus learnt magic in Egypt, and thereafter gave himself out to be the Christ, would not, perhaps, be sufficient to connect him with the Jesus of the *Toldoth*, were it not that the Talmud has preserved an independent tradition regarding Simon, which rests mainly on the authority of R. Eliezer ben

Hyrchanus, who was for a time in frequent contact with Jewish Christians, and died early in the second century.

Rabbi Eliezer said to the Wise, Did not Ben Stada bring spells out of Egypt in a cutting in his flesh? They said to him, He was a fool, and one does not adduce proof from fools (*Shabb.* 104b ; *Sanh.* 67a).

The later Gemara asks : " This Ben Stada, was he not the same as Ben Pandera? Rabbi Hisda (217-309 A.D.) said, The husband was Stada, Pandera was the paramour." Ben Pandera in the rabbinical literature is always Jesus, and Ben Stada was not confused with him until the end of the second century. Ben Stada, who brought magic spells out of Egypt, is clearly Simon the *Stadios*, the Standing One. There may have been a Jewish Christian tradition that Simon concealed the spells in a cutting in his flesh. Rashi, the famous Jewish commentator, informs us that the Egyptian magicians were very jealous of their spells, and would allow no-one to take them out of the country ; so that only by the method stated could Ben Stada have got away with them.

We have seen that, according to Arnobius, the pagan opponents of Christianity were saying of Jesus, " He was a magician ; he did all his works by secret arts ; from the shrines of the Egyptians he stole the names of angelic powers and hidden disciplines." The *Joseph* apocryphon also claims that Demas the robber stole the secret deposit of Solomon (famed in legend for his magical powers) from the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and that Judas falsely ascribed this theft to Jesus. The compiler of the *Toldoth* has thus taken his own story of the theft by Jesus of the Ineffable Name, which he concealed in a cutting in his flesh, from the Jewish Christian legends of their arch-enemy Simon Magus. The

substitution probably did not originate with the compiler : his share was in utilizing the story in place of the baptism narrative. From the Jews the story spread to the pagans, for Justin accuses the Jews, as we have noted, with priming the Gentiles with " those bitter, dark and unjust things " which they levelled against Jesus.

So much did the story gain currency that the author of *Joseph* has to explain it away by saying that it was really Demas, who had carried out the theft from the sanctuary ; and Judas (the Jew) had falsely attributed this to Jesus. It is the same with the other story in *Gamaliel*, where the *Toldoth* having related that Jesus' body was found in the canal or well, *Gamaliel* explains that it was not Jesus but the body of one of the crucified thieves, probably Demas again.

These facts are of some importance in considering the date of the *Toldoth*, for it would seem that it must be older than these apocryphal Gospels if they have to explain away its damaging statements.

But the connection between the *Toldoth* and the Simon Magus tradition does not end with the story of the stealing of the Name. It appears again in the name of Simon's consort Helene, also called Selene (i.e., the moon, Simon, *Samas*, representing the sun). In *Tj. ii, 1*, we are told that in the time of Jesus " the rule of all Israel was in the hands of a woman, and her name was Helene." The compiler has deliberately substituted this queen Helene for the Herod of his source text. The redactor of W. explains that this Helene was " the wife of Alexander Jannaeus, and reigned after his death. She was also called Oleina, and had a son Munbazus, otherwise known as Hyrcanus, who was killed by his slave Herod."

All this which sounds rather complicated is yet very simple. The redactor knew that the only time that there

had been a Jewish Queen of Israel reigning alone was under Salome Alexandra, widow of Alexander Jannaeus. He knew also that she had a son Hyrcanus II ; but he is puzzled by the name Helene. The only Queen Helene familiar to him was Helene, Queen of the Adiabene, a proselyte to Judaism (c. 46 A.D.), who had a son Munbazus. So he is forced to identify the two queens and their sons. Yet he is on the right track in giving to Salome the alternative name of Oleina, for in Greek and Latin records she is called Saline or Salina, a contraction of her Hebrew name Shalom-Zion.

What the redactor did not know was that the compiler of the *Toldoth* had borrowed Simon's queen Helene (Selene) and made her stand for Queen Salome (Salina) the wife of King Alexander Jannaeus. But we may ask, why substitute Helene for the original Herod the tetrarch? Here again there is no difficulty. Both Alexander Jannaeus and Herod I had killed many of the Pharisees,¹ and the Jewish traditions very early confused the two events. In the first massacre some of the Pharisees escaped and some were banished, finding a refuge in Egypt. Jesus also had been taken to Egypt after another massacre by Herod of the children of Bethlehem. Simon Magus had gone to Egypt to learn magic. When Salome occupied the throne alone those who had been banished were recalled.² Among these were Judah ben Tabbari, a theological colleague of Simeon ben Shetach, who had found an asylum at Alexandria, or, as another record says, Joshua ben Perachiah another famous contemporary rabbi. Of the return of the exiled scholar an incident is related in the Jerusalem Talmud, in which one of his disciples figures. This disciple on the basis of the Simon-Jesus equation becomes in fact Jesus in that later Gemara of the Babylonian Talmud, where it is recorded :

¹ Jos. *Antiq.* XIII, xiii, 5 ; XVII, ii, 4.

² *Antiq.* XVI, xvi, 2.

When King Jannaeus slew our rabbis, R. Joshua ben Perachiah and Jesus fled to Alexandria of Egypt. When there was peace, Simeon ben Shetach sent to him : From me Jerusalem the Holy City, to thee Alexandria of Egypt, my sister : my husband dwells in thy midst and I sit desolate. So they came, etc. (*Sanh.* 107b.).

Here then we have something of the process which produced the substitution of Queen Helene for King Herod. But it produced even more, for it also introduced into the *Toldoth* story the person of Simeon ben Shetach, brother-in-law of Queen Salome Alexandra and a noted opponent of magic.

We are left with Simon Magus' feats of aerial levitation. Now we know from a famous saying in *Hebrews* that Jesus claimed to have been lifted by a lock of his hair by the agency of the Spirit and transported to mount Tabor. If *Hebrews* was the source text of the *Toldoth*, as we believe, then the compiler finding such a statement there would make it the subject of his peculiar treatment. From indications in 2 *Peter* ii, 15, *Jude*, and even *Rev.* ii, 14, we gather that the lawless and licentious members of the Gentile Church were characterized as Balaamites, and quite probably the name of Balaam was applied by the Jewish Christians to Simon Magus, who represented this immoral and lawless element. In their stories the end of Simon was to be brought to earth by Peter while flying in the air. There is evidence in the Jewish records that when the Simon-Jesus equation was made a Balaam-Jesus equation followed. This is illustrated by a passage in the Babylonian Talmud.

A certain heretic (Jewish Christian) said to R. Chanina (d. 232 A.D.), Have you ever heard how old Balaam was ? He answered, There is nothing written about it. But

from what is written (*Psalms* lv, 23), Men of blood and deceit shall not live out half their days, he must have been thirty-three or thirty-four years old. He (the heretic) said, Thou hast answered me well. I have seen the *Chronicle of Balaam*, and in it is written : Balaam the lame was thirty-three years old when Phineas the zealot slew him.¹

Rabbi Chanina lived at Sepphoris in Galilee, and the story probably dates from about the end of the second century. Naturally it is told from the Jewish angle, but the hint at the death of Jesus about thirty-three years of age is unmistakable.

It is likely that at this period the account of the manner of Balaam's death got into the Palestinian Targum, where we find at *Numbers xxxi, 8* :

And Balaam the son of Beor they killed with the sword.

Now it was when Balaam the wicked saw Phineas the priest pursuing him, that he made use of magical words, and flew in the air of the heavens; but Phineas forthwith pronounced the great and holy Name, and flew after him, and seized him by the head, and bringing him down to earth, drew his sword and sought to kill him.

There is a very close resemblance to this legend and what we read in *Tj. iii, 27-30*. Balaam is seized by the head, and so Jesus in *Hebrews* is taken up by a lock of hair. What may be an intermediate or alternative version linking up with the verse in the Hebrew Gospel that Jesus was taken up by the Spirit to Mount Tabor is contained in the *Toldoth Minor* as quoted by Shemtob ibn Shaprut.

When Jesus realized that he was about to die " he spake words of magic, flew away and sat himself upon Mount

¹ *Sanh.* 106 b.

Carmel. R. Judah the gardener said to R. Joshua ben Perachiah, I will go after him and bring him back. He answered, Go, utter and pronounce the Name of his Lord, that is the Ineffable Name. He went and flew after him. When he would seize him, Jesus spake words of magic, went into the cave of Elijah, and shut the door. Judah the gardener came and said to the cave, Open, for I am God's messenger. It opened. Thereupon Jesus made himself into a bird ; R. Judah seized him by the hem of his garment and came before Joshua and his companions."

Here the mountain is mentioned, though it is Carmel and not Tabor. For the rest it is evident that we are in the realm of oriental folklore, and should have to pursue the legend further, if there was any purpose in so doing, among the Genii of the *Arabian Nights Entertainment*. We shall rest satisfied for the present if we have shown that the Jewish Christian Simon Magus stories, such as we find them in the Clementines, account for several incongruous and seemingly anachronistic elements in the *Toldoth*. They have not been invented : they have been borrowed, and borrowed with a definite object, and great ingenuity has been shown by the compiler in making appropriate substitutions for the Gospel statements that he found in his source.

While we are on the subject of the Simon Magus-Jesus substitution, it may be as well to take into consideration the statement of Tertullian, to which we have already briefly referred. Writing at the end of the second century, he addresses the Jews rhetorically, who are confounded at the Second Coming of Christ.

This is your carpenter's son, your harlot's son, your sabbath-breaker, your Samaritan, your demon-possessed ! This is he whom ye bought from Judas ; he who was

struck with reed and fists, dishonoured with spittle, and given a draught of gall and vinegar ! This is he whom his disciples have stolen away secretly, that it may be said that he is risen, or the gardener abstracted that his lettuces might not be damaged by the crowds of visitors !

We do not know from what sources the Bishop of Carthage derived his information. Some of his statements rest on canonical and uncanonical Gospel texts ; but others seem to reflect Jewish authority. Elsewhere (*Adv. Jud.* ix), he charges the Jews with having stoned Jesus not on account of his works, " but because he did them on the sabbath." He may have had in mind *John* v, 17-18 ; x, 31-33, in which case the reference to Jesus as " your Samaritan, demon-possessed " may depend on *John* vii, 48, " Then answered the Jews, and said unto him, Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil ? " It is strange, and perhaps significant, that while Jesus immediately denies that he has a devil, he does not deny that he is a Samaritan. We know, of course, that Jesus was not a Samaritan, though Heinrich Hammer thought otherwise.¹ But Simon Magus was. Can it be that when the Fourth Gospel was redacted the Jewish identification of Jesus with Simon Magus had already been made ? We note that the accusation that Jesus was a Samaritan is peculiar to John : it is not found in the Synoptics. Should we understand *John* viii, 48, as " Say we not well that thou art another Ben Stada, and hast a devil ? " That is probably what the Jews of the first quarter of the second century were saying. They could apostrophize Jesus : " Ben Stada was a sorcerer and deceiver, and so are you ! " On the other hand we must remember that Samaritan, or as they would say, Cuthite, was with the Jews of the second century a term of reproach implying heretical

¹ *Traktat vom Samaritanermessias*, Bonn, 1913.

leanings, and denial of rabbinical authority as embodied in the oral law.

But we must consider further Tertullian's concluding words. In *Peter* we have already noticed the crowds who came to see the sepulchre in the garden, and the fact that John alone among the canonical writers speaks of the gardener. But where did the Bishop get the idea that there were vegetables in the garden? Now there has been preserved a form of *Toldoth* that records this feature, and also a curious Christian document. The latter from which we shall quote first is a Coptic MS. entitled *The Book of the Resurrection* by Bartholomew the Apostle.¹

Now early in the morning, while it was yet dark, the holy women came forth to the tomb. These women stood in the garden of Philogenes the gardener, whose son the Saviour had healed at the time when he descended from the mount of Olives with his apostles. Mary said unto Philogenes, If thou art really he, I know thee. Philogenes said unto her, Thou art Mary, the mother of THALKAMARIMATH, which being interpreted is the joy, the blessing and the gladness. Mary said unto him, If it be thou who hast taken away the body of my Lord, tell me where thou hast laid it; for whether thou art afraid (to carry it away or not), I myself will bear it away. Philogenes said unto her, Sister, Mary, virgin, mother of the Christ, what are these words which thou art saying unto me? From the very moment when the Jews crucified him, they have persisted in seeking out an exceedingly safe sepulchre wherein they might lay him, so that the disciples might not come by night and carry him away secretly. Now I said to them, There is a tomb quite close to my vegetable garden; bring him, lay him in it,

¹ Translated by the late Sir E. A. Wallis Budge (Brit. Mus. Or. MS. 6804).

and I myself will keep watch over him. I thought in my heart saying : When the Jews shall have departed and entered into their houses, I will go into the tomb of my Lord, and will carry him away, and will give him spices and sweet-smelling unguents and scents. Now they brought him and laid him in the tomb, and set a seal on the stone, and after (setting) a watch they went into their houses. And in the middle of the night I rose up, and went into the tomb of my Lord, and I found the whole host of angels marshalled therein. And the Father came forth . . . and raised him from the dead.

This is a most extraordinary passage. It definitely opposes John's Gospel, by introducing the actual gardener, and not the risen Christ imagined by Mary to be the gardener. It introduces an unknown miracle, and makes other assertions much more in sympathy with the *Toldoth*. The gardener seems to correspond with Joseph of Arimathea. Moreover the garden itself is a vegetable garden. We can only ask again whether *Hebrews* contained material which gave rise to these Christian legends, and was the source of the *Toldoth* story.

Amulo, Archbishop of Lyons (841-852 A.D.), cites a version of the *Toldoth* in his *Epistola contra Judaeos*, which adds to our body of evidence on this subject.

The Jews, he says—blaspheme because we believe in him whom the Law of God says was hanged on a tree and cursed by God: and that later on the same day on which he was hanged they ordered that he should be buried, lest, if he remained yoked (*in patibulo*) overnight, he would pollute their land . . . And (they say) that on the demand and order of their teacher Joshua, they took him down hastily from the tree, and thrust him into a tomb in a

certain garden full of cabbages (*caulibus pleno*) so that their land should not be contaminated. . . . In their own language they call him *Ussum* (i.e., *Yasham*) *Hamizri*, which is to say in Latin *Dissipator Ægyptius* (the Egyptian Destroyer). . . . And they say further, that by their elders, after he was taken down from the tree, and thrust into a tomb, that all might know that he was truly dead and not risen, he was taken out again from the tomb, and dragged by a rope through the whole city ; and for this reason even to-day the tomb stands empty, a stony waste, full of refuse which they are wont to throw there.

A tradition so heavily supported must rest on some historical foundation. No Jew or Christian, who did not know Jerusalem well, could have invented the details of the vegetable garden irrigated by a canal. Such irrigated vegetable plots, indeed, still remain in the valley east of Jerusalem, where the writer himself has seen them. If one follows the Via Dolorosa, the traditional road taken by Jesus on his way to crucifixion, and leaves the city by the St. Stephen's Gate, one descends into the Kidron Valley. To the right is an ancient tomb with a cistern known as the Tomb of Mary, and just beyond is the Garden of Gethsemane. If one leaves the road, however, and turns to the left along the valley, one comes immediately to the vegetable plots irrigated by canals and smelling horribly from sewage. No doubt such plots were cultivated in the same place and in the same way in the first century, as they were much earlier. We have a reference to them at least as far back as the seventh century B.C. in 2 *Kings* xxiii, 4 (cf. *Jer.* xxxi, 40) under the name *Shad'moth Kidron* rendered "Fields of Kidron", but really Manure-beds of Kidron (from *Shadam*, Arabic *Samrad*).

The approach from the city to the kitchen-gardens in the time of Christ was no doubt by the Gate Gennath (the Garden Gate) mentioned by Josephus as being on this side of Jerusalem (*Wars*, V, iv, 2). On garden burial see 2 *Kings* xxi, 18, 26. Another sidelight on this subject is afforded by a curious little Christian tract *De Montibus Sion et Zion*, dating from about 230 A.D. Here *Cant.* i, 6, "They made me as a guard of an orchard," is quoted as a testimony relating to Christ, "because in a garden he hung between two robbers fastened on a tree." According to the author of the tract Jesus was crucified in a garden, a tradition supported as we have seen by *Nicodemus*, where Pilate sentences Jesus to be "hanged upon the cross in the garden wherein thou wast taken."

It would appear, then, according to our evidence, that the authentic tomb of Jesus should be sought in the Kidron Valley.

We have now only to consider the name "Egyptian Destroyer" given to Jesus in Amulo's reference. If we turn to Huldreich's text of the *Toldoth*, we find that Pandera, the reputed father of Jesus, is called the Egyptian "because he did the work of the Egyptians." But this is a late gloss. It is probable that this designation belongs to the traditions associating Simon Magus (Ben Stada) with Egypt, which later were transferred to Jesus.

Our quest for information which will illuminate the matter and origin of statements contained in the *Toldoth* has lead us into some digressions, which have nevertheless been very helpful. In such an investigation it is almost impossible to avoid this sort of thing, and if apology is needed it must be made here and serve for any other lapses of which we may be guilty hereafter.

We think that it will be admitted, even at this stage,

that the case for the *Toldoth* depending on Christian tradition as well for its canonical as for its uncanonical details is now established beyond peradventure. There is now, moreover, a strong presumption that the compiler used a single source which is likely to have been the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. If we are right in this reasonable theory, we are already beginning to discern some of the contents of that elusive Gospel, which before were unknown to us.

THE "TOLDOTH" AND THE JEW OF CELSUS

CELSUS, according to the generally accepted view, was a heathen philosopher, a neo-platonist, who flourished about 175 A.D. He wrote a formidable attack on Christianity under the title of *A True Discourse*, which Origen more than half a century later attempted to refute. Celsus' work is no longer extant ; but the gist of his arguments, and to a very considerable extent his own words, have been preserved by Origen in his *Contra Celsum*. Celsus has no more respect for the Jews than he has for the Christians ; but in order to give added weight to his attack on Christianity he introduces a Jew in rhetorical fashion, who apostrophizes Jesus and afterwards his followers. There can be no doubt from the statements of this hypothetical Jew that Celsus had been at some pains to ascertain the Jewish view of Jesus and the Jewish Christians, and though the traditions as given are second-hand and must to some extent reflect Celsus' own attitude we may use them freely to check the data that we have already obtained from direct sources. The only necessary qualification that we have to make is that as Celsus appears to have read our canonical Gospels we must be cautious in attributing canonical matter to any other Gospel.

Celsus makes two vital statements which we have always to remember. First, that he could "state many others things regarding the events of the life of Jesus which are true, and not like those which are recorded by the disciples."¹

¹ *C. Cels.* Bk. II, xiii.

And, second, that the Christians "have corrupted the Gospel from its original integrity, to a threefold, and fourfold, and manifold degree, and have remodelled it, so that they might be able to answer objection."¹

Following, as far as possible, the Gospel order, we may now consider what the Jew of Celsus has to say about the life and doctrine of Jesus, and compare his assertions with the *Toldoth*. The original of the passages where the Jew is introduced used direct speech, through Origen sometimes quotes indirectly. We have employed direct speech in all cases.

The Birth of Jesus

On the subject of the birth of Jesus there are two quotations, which, as there are slight verbal differences due to Origen's carelessness, we shall have to combine. The Jew is addressing Jesus.

(You) invented your birth from a virgin. (In reality, you were) born in a certain Jewish village of a poor country-woman, who earned her living by spinning, and who was turned out of doors by the carpenter to whom she was betrothed, and wandering about for a time, she shamefully gave birth to you, Jesus, the bastard child of a certain soldier called Panthera. On account of your poverty, you hired yourself out as a servant in Egypt, and there having acquired some miraculous powers, on which the Egyptians greatly pride themselves, you returned to your own country highly elated on account of them, and by these means proclaimed yourself a god.²

The Simon Magus-Jesus tradition is here very much in evidence, and the parallels with the *Toldoth* i, 1-21, are also very close. There are one or two peculiar features.

¹ *Ibid.* Bk. II, xxvii.

² Bk. I, xxviii, xxxii.

Pandera, or Panthera, is described as a soldier. We shall return to this in the next chapter. The mother of Jesus is betrothed to a carpenter, as in *Thomas*, and she is said to have earned her living by spinning. This conception is no doubt based on the tradition which we find in *James*, that to Mary fell the task of weaving the purple and scarlet for the veil of the temple.¹ It is quite possible that all these statements depend on *Hebrews*. On the general character of this extract comparison should be made with the Clementine data given in the previous chapter. It is somewhat difficult, as we have said, to be sure how much of each statement is genuine Jewish material, and how much is due to Celsus.

The Baptism of Jesus

The account of the baptism contains no direct *Toldoth* matter, though for the purposes of our main thesis it is necessary to include it.

When you were bathing beside John, you say that what had the appearance of a bird from the air alighted upon you. What credible witness beheld this appearance? Or who heard a voice from heaven declaring you to be the son of God? What proof is there of it, save your own assertion, and the statement of another of those individuals who has been punished along with you?²

It is of consequence that the Jew of Celsus definitely seems to reflect the text of *Hebrews* in this passage. It is only in *Hebrews* that we find the witness of both Jesus and John to the phenomena connected with the baptism. It is also in *Hebrews* that we have the expression *Εν εἰδει περιστέρης* "in the likeness of a dove."

¹ B γ . x, i.

² Bk. I, xli.

The Works of Jesus

The old mythological fables, which attributed a divine origin to Perseus, and Amphion, and Æacus, and Minos . . . represented the deeds of these personages as great and wonderful, and truly beyond the power of man ; but what have you done that is noble or wonderful either in deed or in word ? You have made no manifestation to us, although they challenged you in the temple to exhibit some unmistakable sign that you were the son of God. (But after this, Celsus . . . affects to grant that those statements may be true which are made regarding his cures, or his resurrection, or the feeding of a multitude with a few loaves . . . and he adds): Well, let us believe that these were actually wrought by you. But what are they more than the tricks of jugglers, who profess to do even more wonderful things, or the feats performed by those who have been taught by Egyptians, who in the middle of the market-place, in return for a few obols, will impart the knowledge of their most venerated arts, and will expel demons from men, dispel diseases, invoke the souls of heroes, exhibit expensive banquets, and tables, and dishes, and dainties having no real existence, and who will put in motion, as if alive, what are not really living animals, but which have only the appearance of life. Since then, these persons can perform such feats, shall we of necessity conclude that they are sons of God, or must we admit that they are the proceedings of wicked men under the influence of an evil spirit ? ¹

We might dismiss the whole of this statement as depending on *John* ii and vi, where in both chapters there are miracles like the turning of water into wine and the feeding

¹ Bk. I, lxxvii-lxxviii.

of the five thousand, and Jesus is challenged : " What sign showest thou, then, that we may see, and believe thee ? What dost thou work ? " (*John* ii, 18 ; vi, 30). But from the duplication of ideas it is possible that another Gospel lies behind these allusions of Celsus. The allegation is also implied that Jesus had wrought his pretended miracles by means of an evil spirit (cf. *Matt.* ix, 34). One of the miracles, however, brings us back to the *Toldoth* ; the Egyptian jugglers " put in motion, as if alive, what are not really living animals, but which have only the appearance of life." Did the Jew of Celsus know about the birds of clay, which Jesus made to fly, or flap their wings ? (*Tŷ.* iii, 16). His statement should be studied in association with *Tŷ.* ii, 17—iii, 16, and with the argument above (pp. 91—92). We may also note that the Quran refers to the miracles of Jesus, among them the bringing down from heaven of a table laden with dainties and the animation of a clay bird.

Origen does not quote the immediate context in Celsus, but it is evident that Jesus is charged with sorcery (cf. *Tŷ.* iii, 2). " It was by means of sorcery that you were able to accomplish the wonders which you performed." " These tenets of yours were those of a wicked and God-hated sorcerer."¹ Jesus' own words are then turned against him. Addressing the disciples, the Jew declares :

O light and truth ! Jesus with his own voice expressly declares, as you yourselves have recorded, " There will appear among you others also, who will perform miracles like mine, but who are wicked men and sorcerers." And he terms him who devises such things, one Satan. So that Jesus himself does not deny that these works at least are not at all divine, but are the acts of wicked men ; and being compelled by the force of truth, he at the same

¹ Bk. I, vi, lxxi.

time not only laid open the doings of others, but convicted himself of the same acts. Is it not, then, a miserable inference, to conclude from the same works that the one is a god and the other sorcerers ?¹

There is no exact parallel in any of the canonical Gospels for the saying of Jesus quoted, but we are reminded of sayings which probably had a place in *Hebrews*, and which are found in the Clementines and Justin.

Our Lord and Prophet, who hath sent us, declared to us that the wicked one, having disputed with him forty days, and having prevailed nothing against him, announced that he would send from among his followers apostles to deceive.²

For he said, Many shall come in my name clothed outwardly in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. And there shall be schisms and heresies.³

The Escape of Jesus

Finally, after saying that Jesus was punished for his crimes by the Jews, the Jew of Celsus makes a startling assertion.

How should we deem him to be a god, who not only in other respects, as was currently reported, performed none of his promises, but who also, after we had convicted him and condemned him as deserving of punishment, was found attempting to conceal himself, and endeavouring to escape in a most disgraceful manner, and who was betrayed by those whom he called disciples ?⁴

Origen claims that this is all based on mistakes "either from misapprehension of the Gospel narratives, or from

¹ Bk. II, xlix ff.

³ *Dial c. Tryph.* xxxv.

² *Hom.* xi, 35.

⁴ *C. Cels.* Bk. II, ix.

Jewish stories." We should say, both Jewish and Nazarene stories. It is the *Toldoth*, and its Gospel source, which claims that Jesus escaped after his condemnation, and was subsequently betrayed.

There is much more about the life of Jesus given by the Jew of Celsus, but we have preferred to quote only those passages which contain features not found in the canonical Gospels. The significant fact is this. The Jew says : "All these statements are taken from your own books, in addition to which we need no other witness ; for ye fall upon your own swords."¹ In these particulars, then, he does not claim to be utilizing those other stories about Jesus which he has said that he is in a position to relate, but only those that he obtained from Christian Gospels. Seeing then that these unfamiliar elements are Nazarene, and largely supported by the *Toldoth*, we must conclude that Celsus provides us with another strong plank in our platform that *Hebrews* was the source text of the *Toldoth*, and that it is a Greek version of *Hebrews* that Celsus has drawn upon.

¹ *Ibid.* Bk. II, lxxiv.

CHAPTER IX

THE "TOLDOTH" AND THE RABBINICAL LITERATURE

WE have already had occasion to quote some passages from the Talmud, and these have been very illuminating. In this chapter we shall further consider the evidence of orthodox Judaism in relation to our subject. Jesus is not mentioned many times in the Rabbinical literature, and Klausner has rightly emphasized the necessity to distinguish between early and late references.¹ We have already partly shown that the end of the second century is the *terminus ad quem* for any independent Jewish recollection of Jesus. Writings subsequent to this date exhibit a very confused knowledge of the founder of Christianity, and reflect the Jesus of Christian theology rather than the Jesus of history.

There are, however, some striking passages concerning Jesus and his disciples of early date, and these must not be neglected in our investigation. They are mainly helpful for an understanding of the Nativity and Infancy section of the *Toldoth*.

R. Shimeon ben Azzai said : I found a genealogical scroll (*Megillat Yuchasin*) in Jerusalem, and therein was written, " So-and-So, bastard son of an adulteress." ²

R. Shimeon lived at the end of the first and beginning of the second century A.D. The document that he reports

¹ *Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 20 ff.

² *Yeb.* iv, 13.

must have been in existence at the time of the capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The expression So-and-so is known to indicate Jesus in the older Jewish records. As quoted, the scroll could not be a copy of the genealogical table compiled by the relatives of Jesus, of which Julius Africanus tells us in his *Epistle to Aristides*. It might, of course, have been a Jewish version of that record; but there would be no object in making it unless the Christian original made some claim that the birth of Jesus was not normal. At least the reference shows that the charge levelled against Jesus in the *Toldoth* and Celsus, that he was the bastard son of an adulteress, goes back to a very early date. The preposterous charge was never made in Jesus' lifetime.

The charge was certainly not a reply to the dogma of the Virgin Birth, because the Jewish Christians, and decidedly the family of Jesus, did not put forward such a claim on his behalf. They did claim, however, that the birth of Jesus, like that of Samson, was heralded by the visitation of an angel. The child was a child of divine promise. This angel in the Christian account was Gabriel. According to ancient tradition he appeared to Mary as a handsome young man. The Jewish opponents of Christianity satirized the incident by making a handsome young man, a *gibor milhamah* (warrior), the seducer of the mother of Jesus. In the Wagenseil text of the *Toldoth*, Joseph Pandera is described in these very terms, which explains the soldier Panthera of the Jew of Celsus. This is no doubt the manner in which the charge arose. But we may go even further, and suggest a possible author of the charge.

In the *Toldoth* (W.) the seduction story is introduced by the expression "a great calamity happened to Israel." Now Josephus follows his testimony to Jesus in the *Antiquities* (XVIII, iii, 3)—a passage that has been altered and manipu-

lated by Christian hands—with a statement in almost the same terms : “ Now about the same time another calamity disturbed the Jews,” as if the appearance of Jesus had been a previous calamity ; and with these words he introduces the Roman scandal of Mundus and Paulina.

Paulina is the young, pious and virtuous wife of Saturninus, and Mundus the handsome young warrior¹ desires to have her. Unable to purchase her consent he resorts to a trick. He bribes the priests of Isis to send her a message that the god Anubis “ conquered by love of her, invited her to come to him.” Nothing doubting, and with her husband’s consent, she goes by night to the temple, where Mundus disguised as Anubis seduces her. She believes him to be the god, and counts herself happy to have been found worthy of this intercourse. Returning to her husband in the morning she informs him that she is to become the mother of a god. Later Mundus meets her and confesses the deception. Eisler is of opinion that the terms of this story show that Josephus has quoted it intentionally, with the birth of Jesus in mind.²

But Josephus provides additional evidence, for his version of the birth of Samson, the Nazir, goes deliberately beyond the Bible in certain important particulars.

There was one Manoah, a person of great virtue. . . . He had a wife celebrated for her beauty. . . . Now, when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her : it was an angel of God, and resembled a young man, beautiful and tall, and brought her the good news, that she should have a son, born by God’s providence. . . . Now the wife informed her husband, when he came

¹ In the Latin version of Egesippus “ a man of the equestrian order and military leader.”

² *The Messiah Jesus*, Appendix XV, and pp. 89–92. Note especially that Mundus is a warrior, and that Paulina sinned unwittingly (cf. *TJ*. i, 5, 38).

home, of what the angel had said, and showed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was astonished and beside himself for jealousy, and such suspicions as are excited by that passion.¹

To remove the husband's suspicions of his wife's unfaithfulness the angel is sent a second time, when he is seen of Manoah also ; but it is evident that he is not wholly convinced until the angel proves that he really is an angel by ascending to heaven in the smoke of the offering. There is a very close similarity here to the Gospel records, both canonical and apocryphal. Joseph also is suspicious of the angelic messenger, until he is accorded a second appearance in a dream, and his mind is reassured.

Again the story of Paulina and Mundus is followed immediately in Josephus by the deception of another lady into sending gold and purple to the temple at Jerusalem, which was stolen by the deceivers. We are reminded of the account in *James*, where at the time of the annunciation Mary is entrusted with the weaving of the scarlet and purple for the temple. It is strange, to say the least, that there should be such curious associations of ideas.

This is not the place to enlarge on the subject, but there is a very simple explanation of the origin of the Virgin Birth dogma. It lies in the correct understanding of *Isaiah* vii, 14, where the word *almah*, rendered virgin, should have been translated as temple maiden. Both the Bible and the Talmud speak of these *alamoth*, who had certain duties in the temple, including the weaving of the curtains and veil.² Mary, according to Christian tradition, was one of these temple maidens.

We may consider further that Josephus was a priest,

¹ *Ant. V*, viii. 2-3.

² *Apoc. Bar. X*, 19.

claiming himself royal descent from the Hasmoneans on his mother's side. In his account of his life he commences with his genealogy, which, says he, "I have set down as I have found it described in the public records, and so bid adieu to those who calumniate me (as of humbler origin)."¹ Now the assumption of the kingly office by the Hasmoneans was greatly resented by those who looked for a king of David's line. If Josephus could have his ancestry defamed by his enemies, may not he himself have been guilty of calumniating the Davidically descended Jesus, the messianic heir of the legitimate royal house?² Surely it was someone like this, having access to the public records, who prepared the falsified scroll which Shimeon ben Azzai saw. If we had the original statement of Josephus about Jesus, a hostile one as Eisler believes, we might do more than conjecture.

The Name Pandera

This is perhaps the most suitable stage in our investigations to inquire into the origin of the name Ben Pandera, by which Jesus is commonly designated in Jewish literature. A variant is occasionally found, Pantira or Pantiri, answering to the Panthera of the Jew of Celsus.

It has been suggested by several scholars that the name is a corruption of the Greek *Parthenos* (virgin), and represents a jibe at the Virgin Birth dogma; but, as Eisler rightly points out, there is no such loan word from the Greek found in Aramaic, and the Jewish writers could quite easily have written Parthena if this was in their minds. A corruption to Pandera has no justification on any rational ground of transliteration. On the other hand Pandera is definitely

¹ *Vita*, i.

² Josephus' attitude towards messianic claimants is well-known, but emerges very clearly in his assertion that Vespasian fulfilled the requirements of Jewish prophecy, because he was "proclaimed emperor on Jewish soil" (*Wars*, VI, v, 4).

used in Aramaic to represent the Greek *Panther*. It is equally beside the point to suggest that the lascivious habits of the panther had anything to do with the use of the name.

We have evidence that Pantera was a genuine surname in Syria, for the tombstone of an archer named Tiberius Julius Abdes Pantera, a native of Sidon, has been found, who was born only a few years before the time of Jesus.¹ According to Epiphanius the name occurred legitimately in the genealogy of Jesus, for he makes Joseph and his brother Clophas to be the sons of Jacob surnamed Panthera.² John of Damascus, on the other hand, introduces the name into the genealogy of Mary, stating that she was the daughter of Joachim, who was the son of Bar Panther, who was the son of Levi, presumably surnamed Panthera.³

It is difficult to imagine that any pressure from antagonistic Jewish circles could have induced these orthodox Church fathers to make a place for the name in the genealogical records of the parents of Jesus, unless they had a warrant for it in Eastern Christian tradition. Now tradition has it that Joseph was an elderly man and Mary only a girl in her early teens when they married, so that his father and her grandfather must have been contemporaries living in the reign of Queen Salome Alexandra (Queen Helene of the *Toldoth*) B.C. 78-70. And even further, tradition makes both families interrelated by marriage, so that there is no *a priori* reason why the surname Pantera should not have stood in both genealogies.

Alien surnames were by no means unusual in Jewish families of the period, and even among the high priests we find a Simon Kantheras and his son Elioneus the son of

¹ The stone is now in the Museum at Kreuznach. See the illustration, Plate xxx, in Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus*.

² *Panar.* lxxviii, 7.

³ *De Fid. Orthodox.* iv, 14.

Kantheras ; so that the latter was known as Bar Kantheras and not as Bar Simon as we might expect. It may, however, be argued that the Syrian surname Pantera indicates some Gentile blood in the ancestry of Jesus. The family came from the north, from country which had been conquered by John Hyrcanus (the father of Alexander Jannaeus), who had insisted that the native inhabitants should adopt Judaism as a condition of remaining.¹ Thousands submitted to this change of faith, and it may be that an ancestress of Jesus married one of the forced converts of Syria, who bore the surname of Pantera. This would not invalidate the Davidic descent of Jesus, reckoned through the maternal side, though it might create some prejudice, and Jewish opponents would prefer to speak of him as Ben Pandera, thus picking on the weak spot—from their point of view—in his family history. They may even have suggested that the facts were the other way round, and that an ancestress of Jesus had apostasized and married an uncircumcised Syrian. Such a one was Mary the daughter of Bilga, who turned apostate, and married a Seleucid soldier in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.² There may even be a hint of this in another Talmudic passage which implies a technical relationship between Balaam and Jesus.

“ And Balaam the son of Beor, the soothsayer ” (*Joshua* xiii, 22) . . . R. Jochanan said : At first a prophet, in the end a soothsayer. Rab Papa said : ‘ This is just what they say. She came of rulers and princes ; but she prostituted herself for carpenters (*gibore nagare*).’³

Here the eminent ancestry of Jesus is admitted ; but the earlier slander directed against his great-grandmother, who married a Syrian proselyte, has by the third century become

¹ *Jon. Antiq.* XIII, ix, 1.

² *T. Succ.* iv, 28, etc.

³ *B. Sanh.* 106 a.

transferred by ill-informed persons to the mother of Jesus herself.

Do we know anything of a lady who figures so uniquely in the history of the family of Jesus, and who lived in the days of Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus? The answer is that we have the name of such a lady, but we know nothing of her history. In *Matthew's* genealogy Matthan is given as the father of Jacob, whom Epiphanius says was surnamed Panther, and he is probably to be identified with the Matthat of *Luke's* genealogy.¹ This Matthan, or Matthat, writes Julius Africanus, married a lady called Estha, "for so is her name according to tradition."² On Matthan's death she afterwards married Melchi. There was a tradition, then, about the woman Estha, who was the great-grandmother of Jesus, and so far as the writer is aware there is no record of any other woman's name among the post-exilic progenitors of Jesus, who also must have lived at the time in question.

We must not neglect some further references to the ancestry of Jesus, which help to elucidate a very difficult problem.

In the *Teaching of Jacob* (634 A.D.), the Jewish Christian author informs us :

God sent me to a certain Jew in Ptolemais (Acre), and he expounded the genealogy of Mary. I said to him mockingly, "She of Judah!" Now that Jew was a great teacher of the Law, of Tiberias. And he said, "Why do the Christians magnify Mary? She is the daughter of David and not *Theotokos* (i.e., born of God), for Mary is a woman, daughter of Joakim, and her mother was Anna. Now Joakim is son of Panther, and Panther was brother of Melchi, as the tradition of us Jews in Tiberias has it,

¹ *Matt.* i, 15; *Luke* iii, 24.

² *Ep. ad Arist.* iii.

of the seed of Nathan, the son of David, of the seed of Judah."¹

In a later work a similar assertion is made, and also on Jewish authority. In the *Dialogue of Andronicus of Constantinople against the Jews* (c. 1310 A.D.), the author undertakes to prove the Davidic descent of Mary not from Christian writings, but from a Jewish book which he met with in Macedonia at the house of a Jew named Elijah, a scholar in the Law.

Raging against the Virgin Mary, the book asks, "Why do Christians extol Mary so highly, calling her nobler than the Cherubim, incomparably greater than the Seraphim, raised above the heavens, purer than the very rays of the sun? For she was a woman of the race of David, daughter of Anna and Joachim who was son of Panther. Now Panther and Melchi were brothers, sons of Levi, of the stock of Matthan, whose father was David of the tribe of Judah."²

These passages clearly reveal the existence of Jewish documents, going back to the heyday of the Jewish college at Tiberias in the fourth century, in which the genealogy of Jesus was discussed, and in which the name Panther was found at a date approximating to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. It can only be supposed from the descriptions given, introducing the names of Mary's parents, Joachim and Anna, that the information was obtained from Jewish Christian sources. Suidas (under "Jesus") actually states in the name of Theodosius, a Byzantine Jew, that the Genealogical Roll of Jesus was preserved at Tiberias.

The results of this part of our investigation are by no means certain, but they are highly probable. Pious

¹ See A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, pp. 155-156.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 184-185.

Christians may be disturbed by the discussion of such a subject, but they should remember that the defamation of ancestry, even to this day, is a common form of oriental invective. The Jewish historian, Josephus, as we have seen, did not escape from it, and in his *Antiquities* it is evident that so august a personage as John Hyrcanus the Jewish king and high priest had his origin defamed. Hyrcanus made a banquet for the leaders of the Pharisee party, and at the table urged them never to fear to correct him, if he was at any time found to be deviating from correct religious conduct.

But still there was one of his guests there, whose name was Eleazar. . . . This man said : Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt indeed be righteous, lay down the highpriesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people. And when the king desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the highpriesthood, the other replied : We have heard it from old men, that thy mother was a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. This story was false, and Hyrcanus was incensed against him.¹

This was the worst possible insult that could be offered to the king, for in view of the well-known character of the Syrian soldiery it was as much as to say that his mother had been raped, and that therefore he was unfit to minister in the temple.

On all the evidence, then, that we have adduced above, we conclude that the name Ben Pandera, as applied to Jesus, is genuine in so far as it was an actual cognomen in use in his family, and was so recorded in his genealogical history as preserved in Jewish Christian documents. The name also entered into the genealogy of Mary through intermarriages

¹ *Antiq.* XIII, x, 5.

between the several branches of the family. We suggest further that the name, which is of foreign Syrian origin, may have been acquired through the romance of Jesus' ancestress, Estha (c. 85 A.D.), who married a Syrian proselyte to Judaism, and whose son Jacob was therefore commonly surnamed Panthera.

As an appendix to this section we may deal with a late Talmudic passage, which is obviously the source of the interpolation in *Tʿ. i.*, 23-25, 40.

"An impudent one." R. Eliezer saith, This is a bastard. R. Jehohua saith, This is the son of (a woman in her) uncleanness. R. Akiba saith, Both a bastard and the son of (a woman in her) uncleanness. The elders were once sitting by the gate, when two children passed before them, one having his head covered and the other having his head uncovered. Said R. Eliezer, That one is a bastard. Said R. Jehoshua, He is the son of (a woman in her) uncleanness. Said R. Akiba, Nay, he is both a bastard and the son of (a woman in her) uncleanness. They said, therefore, to R. Akiba, How dost thou dare to contradict the words of thy colleagues? But he answered, I will prove my statement. Whereupon he went to the mother of the child, and saw her sitting and selling peas in the market. He said to her, My daughter, if thou wilt tell me what I shall ask thee, I will ensure thee a place in the world to come. She said to him, Swear to me. Then R. Akiba swore with his lips but voided it in his heart. He said to her, What is the origin of this thy son? She said to him, When I entered the bridal chamber I was in my uncleanness, and my husband remained away from me: but my groomsman came to me, and so I had this son. So it was found that the child was both a bastard and the son of (a woman in her) uncleanness. Then said

they, Great is R. Akiba, who hath put his teachers to shame. In the same hour they said, Blessed is the Lord God of Israel, who hath revealed his secret to R. Akiba.¹ It is evident that the story as here told had originally nothing to do with Jesus. But the Jewish Christian account of his birth, and his childhood visit to the elders, suggested a connection. Klausner believes that "the solemn conclusion," hinting at a hidden mystery which has been revealed, was added at a later date when that connection had been made.² Afterwards a *Toldoth* copyist has taken over the story and incorporated it in his text with appropriate variations.

Balaam and Jesus

In a previous chapter we have already had occasion to quote references to Jesus in connection with Balaam. We have now to introduce two more which are comments on the Balaam portion in *Numbers* (xxiii, 19 ; xxiv, 23) : " God is not a man, that he should lie ; neither the son of man, that he should repent : Hath he said, and shall he not do it ? or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good ? . . . And he took up his parable, and said, Alas ! who shall live when God doeth this ? "

The prophecies of Balaam were regarded both by Rabbinical and Christian Jews as Messianic, especially *Numbers* xxiv, 17, " There shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel." The Jewish hope had been disappointed in Bar-Kochba (Son of the Star), and Christians made much of this ; so that it was some satisfaction to the Jewish controversialists to be able to reject the Christian claims out of the mouth of Balaam himself. R. Abahu of Caesarea (end of third and beginning of the fourth century)

¹ *Kall.* 51a.

² *Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 31.

had frequent disputations with the Jewish Christians, and it is to him that the following exegesis is credited.

R. Abahu said : If a man say to thee : " I am God," he is a liar. If he says : " I am the Son of Man," in the end people will laugh at him. If he says : " I will ascend to heaven," he saith it, but he shall not perform it.¹ Probably based on these words of Abahu is a midrashic passage, preceded by a saying of R. Eliezer ha-Kappar (*d.* 260 A.D.).

R. Eliezer ha-Kappar said : God gave strength to his (*i.e.*, Balaam's) voice, so that it went from one end of the world to the other. (*Then follows the midrash.*) For he looked forth and beheld the nations that bow down to the sun and moon and stars, and to wood and stone, and he looked forth and saw that there was a man, born of a woman, who should rise up and seek to make himself God, and to cause the whole world to go astray. Therefore God gave power to the voice of Balaam that all the peoples of the world might hear, and thus he spake : Give heed that ye go not astray after that man, for it is written, " God is not a man, that he should lie." And if he says that he is God he is a liar ; and he will deceive and say that he departeth and cometh again at the end. He saith it, but he shall not perform it. See what is written : " And he took up his parable and said, Alas, who shall live when God doeth this ! " Balaam said, Alas ! who shall live of that nation which heareth that man who hath made himself God.²

The associations with the *Toldoth* of these passages is very slight ; for Jesus nowhere claims to be God, but only the son of God in the Old Testament and messianic sense, neither was the claim made on his behalf by the Jewish

¹ *Taan.* 65 b.

² *Talk. Shim.* § 766.

Christians. Only the expression "I will ascend to heaven" (*Tj.* iii, 26) is significant. Abahu lived at Caesarea, a Gentile Christian rather than a Nazarene centre, and at the time when the Nicene Creed was formulated. His attack, therefore, appears to be directed against the teaching of the Church, and falls outside of the scope of our inquiry.

The Five Disciples

We come now to a lengthy continuous passage in tractate *Sanhedrin* (43a) dealing with the death of Jesus, and supposedly with some of his disciples. We will take the second part of the extract first, which corresponds with the interpolation in the *Toldoth* (iv, 12-15). It is introduced by a *Baraita* :

Our Rabbis have taught : Jesus had five disciples, Matthai, Naki, Netser, Buni and Todah. (*This is in Hebrew : then follows a later addition in Aramaic*).

They brought Matthai (to the judges). He said to them, Shall Matthai be killed? It is written, "Matthai (i.e., when) shall come and appear before God." They said to him, Yes, Matthai shall be killed, for it is written, "Matthai, (i.e., when) shall die and his name perish."

They brought Naki. He said to them, Shall Naki be killed? It is written, "Naki, (i.e., the innocent) and the righteous thou shalt not kill." They said to him, Yea, Naki shall be killed, for it is written, "In the secret places he killeth Naki (i.e., the innocent)."

They brought Netser. He said to them, Shall Netser be killed? It is written, "And Netser (i.e., a branch) from his roots shall blossom." They said to him, Yea, Netser shall be killed, for it is written, "Thou art cast forth from thy grave like an abhorred Netser (i.e., branch)."

They brought Buni. He said, Shall Buni be killed? It is written, "B'ni, (i.e., my son), my first-born, Israel." They said to him, Yea, Buni shall be killed, for it is written, "I will slay Bin'kha (i.e., thy son), thy first-born."

They brought Todah. He said, Shall Todah be killed? It is written, "A Psalm for Todah (i.e., thanksgiving)." They said to him, Yes, Todah shall be killed, for it is written, "Whoso sacrificeth Todah (i.e., a thank-offering) honoureth me."

The *Toldoth* interpolation, which we may note does not occur in the Bodleian text, omits the Todah reference and gives other proof texts for Naki; but otherwise it is to the same effect.

The five disciples are taken by many scholars to represent Matthew, Luke, Andrew (so Klausner), Nicodemus (or John, Klausner), and Thaddaeus. Others like Vacher Burch have suggested, with greater probability, that the names represent attributes of Jesus, or Christian doctrines. For the former it may be said that the list beginning with Matthai-Matthew may imply a reference to the apostle to whom the compilation of the Hebrew Gospel is attributed. Of a famous citizen of Jerusalem Nakdemon ben Gorion it is said that he was also called Buni. The ascription of the other names (except perhaps Todah-Thaddaeus) is very far fetched, and it would be difficult to find any reasonable theory for such an odd selection of persons.

A careful examination of the texts and punning counter-texts shows that the interpolation in the *Toldoth* owes its origin to some such statement in its source as *John* xviii, 19, "The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his doctrine." The Talmud context deals with the examination of Jesus prior to his execution. Let us now take the names in order.

Matthai. The Christian text is *Psalm* xlii, 2. This Psalm was regarded by the Christians as messianic and predictive of the sufferings of Christ. In v. 9 we read, "I will say unto God my rock, Why hast thou forgotten me? (*lamah shackachtani*)," and the cry from the cross (*Matt.* xxvii. 46) is actually given in this form in the du Tillet Hebrew MS. of Matthew's Gospel.¹ The counter-text is from *Psalm* xli, 5, a Psalm which was also held to be predictive of Christ by the Christians, who saw in v. 9 an anticipation of the betrayal by Judas: "Mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me."

Naki. The Talmud quotation is from *Exodus* xxiii, 7. The *Toldoth* adduces *Psalm* xxiv, 4. The latter was regarded as messianic. Jesus was the innocent one, worthy to stand in the holy place. The Talmud counter-text is from *Psalm* x, 8, while the *Toldoth* is from *Exodus* xxxiv, 7. The innocent must suffer.

Netser. The Christian text is the messianic *Isaiah* xi, 1. The counter-text quoted is *Isaiah* xiv, 19. It is very striking, and indeed opens up the question as to whether some of the *Toldoth* variations of the Gospel story are not based on the famous Lucifer passage of the Prophet, *Isaiah* xiv, 12-20.

How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning . . . For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven. . . . I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit. They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, and consider thee, saying, Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms? . . . All the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory, every one in

¹ See Schonfield, *An Old Hebrew Text of Matthew's Gospel*, pp. 24-25.

his own house : but thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch (*netser*), and as the raiment of those that are slain, thrust through with a sword, that go down to the stones of the pit ; as a carcase trodden under foot. Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people : the seed of evil-doers shall never be renowned.

Had this passage only been found in some Jewish document outside of the Bible, it could easily be taken for an anti-Christian polemic.

Buni. The Christian text is *Exodus* iv, 22, and the counter-text is from v. 23, of the same chapter. The suggestion is that the Christians claimed that Jesus was the son of God, the ideal Israelite. The reply is that rather was Jesus the first-born of Egypt, the hater and destroyer of Israel.

Todah. The Christian text is the description of *Psalm* c. The counter-text is *Psalm* l, 23. The argument is that the Nazarenes were opposed to the sacrificial system, which Jesus by his death had abrogated. Jesus himself is credited with saying, " Unless ye cease from sacrificing, the wrath of God shall not cease from you " (cf. *Daniel* ix, 27). The eucharist (thanksgiving) has taken the place of sacrifice. The Nazarenes quoted *Psalm* l, 13-14, " Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats ? Offer unto God thanksgiving." To which the Jews would reply in the words of vv. 16-17, " But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth ? Seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee."

The mythical trial of the five disciples of Jesus thus resolves itself into a trial of Christian *testimonia* in favour of Jesus and his doctrine. The rabbis show that the Scriptures

can be used against Jesus, as well as for him. Why are five disciples mentioned? The answer is very simple. Rendel Harris has shown the existence of an early Christian document consisting of Old Testament prophecies,¹ and this work was in Five Books. He holds, and we believe rightly, that these were compiled by Matthew, which now accounts for the Matthai at the head of our passage. According to Papias, "Matthew compiled the Oracles in the Hebrew language, and everyone interpreted them as he was able."² Papias himself was one of these interpreters of Oracles or Testimonies, and wrote his famous *Exposition of the Oracles relating to the Lord* in five books. We claim that the talmudic passage relates to the five-divisioned *Testimony Book*, and helps us to solve one of the most disputed problems of primitive Christian literature.

In our ignorance of the introductory words of each section of the *Book of Oracles*, or *Testimonies*, it is not possible to know whether the common Jewish practice has been followed of titling books according to their opening words. But we may believe that the Talmud has preserved for us an indication of the subject matter of each section,³ as follows :

Bk. 1. *Matthai*. "I, Matthew, the servant of Jesus the Messiah, compiled these testimonies from the Oracles of God."

Bk. 2. *Naki*. "That he shall be called the Innocent⁴ and the Just One" (cf. *Acts* iii, 14).

Bk. 3. *Netzer*. "That he shall be called a Nazarene"⁵ (cf. *Matt.* ii, 23).

¹ *Testimonies*, Vols. I-II.

² Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* Bk. iii, 39.

³ See the full discussion below, pp. 237-240.

⁴ In Cyprian's *Liber Testimoniorum*, in Three Books (c. 246 A.D.), Exodus xxiii, 7, is quoted in his Second Book, as it is quoted in the Talmudic passage under the Second Heading.

⁵ The mystery of this quotation in *Matthew* may thus be solved by regarding it as the introduction to a section of the *Book of Testimonies*.

Bk. 4. *Buni*. "That he shall be called the Son of God"
(cf. *Luke* i, 32).

Bk. 5. *Todah*. "That he shall give Thanksgiving for
Sacrifice" (cf. *Hebrew* x, 5 ; xiii, 15).

We may note further that the testimonies quoted in the Talmud are from the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms (cf. *Luke* xxiv, 44). It is possible that the word *Evangelion* (Gospel) may have been used originally for the *Book of Testimonies*, and only later, through a natural development, for the records of the life and teaching of Christ (Cf. *1 Cor.* xv, 1-4; *Acts* xxvi, 22-23). If this is the case the *Testimonies* are mentioned in another talmudic passage.

The *Gilyonim* (margins) and books of the Sectaries they do not save, but these are burnt in their place, they and their memorials (the sacred names in the text) . . . R. Meir called it *Aven-gilayon* (margin of idolatry) : R. Jochanan called it *Avon-gilayon* (margin of iniquity).¹ The marginalia of the Nazarenes probably represented their annotations to those scriptures believed to be prophetic of Christ.

The early rabbinical tradition that we have been considering thus accounts not only for an important interpolation in the *Toldoth*, but is, at the same time, illuminating of Gospel origins.

The Condemnation of Jesus

Our final quotation consists of the first part of *Sanhedrin* 43a, of which we have already given the second part.

Tradition has it : On the eve (of the Sabbath and) of the Passover they hanged Jesus (the Nazarene). And the herald went out before him for forty days (proclaim-

¹ *Shabb.* 13 a ; 116 b.

ing) : " Jesus goeth forth to be stoned, because he hath used magic, and incited and lead Israel astray. Let anyone who knoweth ought in his favour come and declare it on his behalf." But nothing was found in his favour ; and they hanged him therefore on the eve (of the Sabbath and) of the Passover.

This tradition agrees with *Tŷ*. iv, 19, in claiming that Jesus was hanged on the eve of the Passover and of the Sabbath. But the apologetic features, that there was an interval of forty days before the execution and that proclamation was made to discover whether anyone could testify on Jesus' behalf, are not represented in our document. These features seem intended to oppose a Christian tradition, such as we find in *Nicodemus*, where a messenger is sent to bring Jesus before the judgment-seat, and the members of the Jewish tribunal cry out against Pilate, saying, " Wherefore didst not thou summon (Jesus) to enter by a herald, instead of by a runner (*cursor*) ? " ¹ And later, when the elders prefer their accusations against Jesus, a number of Jews come forward to testify in his favour. ²

The evidence of the Rabbinical Literature is of the same quality as that of the Jew of Celsus. It is not strong enough to establish the existence of the *Toldoth* as early as the second or third century. It does show, however, that at this period the Jewish authorities were devising answers to the Jewish Christian propaganda, which supplied the Compiler of the *Toldoth* with the materials which he opposed to statements in the Hebrew Gospel.

The compiler of the *Toldoth* is shown to be no inventor : he uses the structure and contents of the Hebrew Gospel, contenting himself with parodying the evangelical narrative when he has nothing better to offer ; but incorporating

¹ *AP*. i, 2.

² *AP*. ii-ix.

at appropriate places any alternative Jewish tradition of which he is aware. The redactor, following him, interpolates further matter from later Jewish sources. By tracing out the early Jewish references to Jesus, we are thus enabled to see the methods employed in constructing the *Toldoth*, and we are also given some valuable indications which later will be helpful in arriving at the approximate date of the compilation.

At the same time our investigations illustrate the importance of a knowledge of Jewish literature for the study of Christian origins, and confirm that there was a very early and continuous contact between Nazarenes and Rabbinites.

CHAPTER X

THE "TOLDOTH" AND THE SLAVONIC JOSEPHUS

A BATTLE royal has raged around the references to Jesus and John the Baptist, which appear in certain Old Russian versions of Josephus' *Jewish War*. The scholarly world might have been content to regard these passages as late and valueless interpolations, had not Eisler in two weighty German tomes¹ set forth with abundant *materia critica* the amazing theory that underlying the references were the genuine and antagonistic statements of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus. According to Eisler, Josephus had included these statements in his Semitic rough-draft of the *Jewish War*, which being translated into Greek by his assistants had been issued about A.D. 71-73 under the title *Peri Halōseōs* ("Of the Capture," i.e., of Jerusalem). He holds that the *Jewish War*, which has always been included among Josephus' works, is a carefully revised version of the *Halōsis*, and was not published until the reign of Domitian, some twelve years later. The *Halōsis* survived, however, and was rendered into the Old Russian language about the thirteenth century from a Byzantine copy now lost.

The falsity of Eisler's contention that there is genuine Josephan matter in the disputed passages has been ably demonstrated by Jack ;² nevertheless the origin of these strange interpolations still remains as an important problem.

¹ English Edn. *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist*, 1931.

² *The Historic Christ*, 1933.

We have to thank Eisler at least for bringing them into prominence, even if his reasons for so doing are unjustified. The interpolations exhibit a familiarity with the fifth century Latin Egesippus, and with Christian Apocrypha, and, what is more important for our present purpose, with *Toldoth* material.

We need not concern ourselves here with the passages relating to John the Baptist, except to notice that he is described as a strict vegetarian in accordance with Ebionite views. The interpolations concerning Jesus and his followers we shall set forth in full in Eisler's translation corrected by Jack, and reserve our comments until afterwards.

I

(Interpolated between *Wars*, II, ix, 3 and II, ix, 4)

At that time there appeared a certain man, if it is meet to call him a man. His nature and form was human, but the appearance of him more than (that) of a human (being): yet his works (were) divine. He wrought miracles wonderful and strong. Wherefore it is impossible for me to call him a human (being, simply). But on the other hand, if I look at (his) characteristic (human) nature, I will not call him an angel.

And all, whatsoever he wrought through an invisible power, he wrought by a word and command. Some said of him, "Our first lawgiver is risen from the dead, and hath evidenced this by many cures and prodigies." But the others thought that he was (a man) sent from God. Now in many things he opposed the Law and kept not the Sabbath according to the custom of (our) forefathers. Yet again, he did nothing shameful nor underhand. And many of the multitude followed after him and hearkened

to his teaching. And many souls were roused, thinking that thereby the Jewish tribes could free themselves from Roman hands. But it was his custom rather to abide without the city on the Mount of Olives. There also he granted cures to the people. And there gathered to him of helpers 150, but of the crowd a multitude. But when they saw his power, that he accomplished by a word whatsoever he would, and when they had made known to him their will, that he should enter the city and cut down the Roman troops and Pilate, and rule over them, he heeded it not. And when thereafter news of it was brought to the Jewish leaders, they assembled together with the high priest and said, "We are powerless and (too) weak to resist the Romans. Since however the bow is bent, we will go and communicate to Pilate what we have heard, and we shall be free from trouble, in order that he may not hear (it) from others and we be robbed of (our) goods and ourselves slaughtered and (our) children dispersed." And they went and reported (it) to Pilate. And he sent and had many of the multitude slain. And he had that wonder-worker brought up, and after he had held an inquiry concerning him, he pronounced (this) judgment : "He is (a benefactor, but not) a malefactor (nor) a rebel (nor) covetous of king(ship)." And he let him go, for he had healed his dying wife. And after he had gone to his wonted place, he did his wonted works. And when more people again gathered round him, he glorified himself by his action(s) more than all. The scribes (therefore) being stung with envy gave Pilate thirty talents to kill him. And he took (it) and gave them liberty to carry out their will (themselves). And they took him and crucified him contrary to the law of (their) fathers.

2

(Corresponding to *Wars*, II, ii, 6)

Claudius again sent his officers to those kingdoms, Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, both of whom kept the people in peace, by not allowing any departure from the pure laws.

But if notwithstanding anyone did deviate from the word of the Law and information was laid before the teachers of the Law, they punished or banished him, or sent (him) to Caesar.

And since in the time of him (i.e., Claudius) many helpers of the wonder-worker aforementioned had appeared and spoken to the people of their Master, (saying) that he was alive, although he had been dead, and "he will free you from bondage," many of the multitude hearkened to the(ir) preaching and took heed of their directions, not on account of their reputation, for they were of the humble(r) sort, some mere tailors, others sandal-makers, (or) other artisans. But wonderful were the signs which they worked, in truth what(ever) they wanted.

But when these noble governors saw the falling away of the people, they determined, together with the scribes, to seize (them) and put (them) to death, for fear lest the little might not be little, if it ended in the great. But they shrank back and were in terror at the signs, saying, "Not through drugs do such wonders come to pass ; but if they do not proceed from the counsel of God, then will they quickly be exposed." And they gave them liberty to go where they would. But afterwards for the deeds done by them they sent them away, some to Caesar, others to Antioch, for a trial of the(ir) cause, others to distant lands.

3

(Interpolated between *Wars*, V, v, 4 and V, v, 5)

This curtain (i.e., of the Temple) was before this generation entire, because the people were pious ; but now it was grievous to see, for it was suddenly rent from the top to the bottom, when they through bribery delivered to death the benefactor of men and him who from his actions was no man.

And of many other fearful signs, they tell, which happened then. And it was said that he (i.e., Jesus), after being killed and laid in the grave, was not found. Some indeed hold that he had risen, others that he was stolen away by his friends. But for my part I know not which speak more correctly. For one that is dead cannot rise of himself, though he may do so with the help of the prayer of another righteous man, unless he be an angel or another of the heavenly powers, or unless God himself appears as a man and accomplishes what he will and walks with men and falls and lies down and rises again as he pleases. But others said that it was impossible to steal him away, because they had set watches around his tomb, thirty Romans and a thousand Jews.

Such (is the story told) of that curtain.

It must be evident even to the most casual investigator that these passages contain so much of Christian tradition and legend that they cannot possibly be attributed to Josephus as they stand ; but Eisler overcomes this difficulty by freely admitting an interpolator of considerable portions, and he endeavours to extract his "genuine" Josephan matter from the remainder largely by turning round what is stated in a favourable sense to a bad or inimical sense. But his whole treatment of the material is so arbitrary and

contrary to critical usage, though carried out with a deceptive and disarming display of scholarship, that his conclusions must be rejected out of hand.

We must be content to regard these and the rest of the additions to the text of Josephus in the Old Russian versions as interpolations. More than one hand may have been concerned in bringing them to their present form, and we may be disposed to grant that some of the expressions and clauses to which Eisler objects are so far removed from what even a pseudo-Josephus would be likely to employ that the hypothesis of a second interpolator is inevitable. The bribery of Pilate with thirty talents instead of Judas with thirty pieces of silver, and the Gamaliel-like attitude of the governors Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, are particularly clumsy devices. But when we have said this the passages still remain important as showing the perpetuation in the Eastern Empire of certain curious and mainly Jewish Christian traditions.

Notably Nazarene is the sturdy Jewish patriotism, the prejudice against animal food, and the conception of the Christ as a man, yet in his eternal character a being created by God, greater than the angels, but less than the Godhead.

We have said that the interpolations show acquaintance with *Toldoth* material ; but it is most unlikely that these passages so obviously constructed by Christian hands would utilize inimical Jewish sources. Christian legend and tradition, as we have already illustrated, had preserved traces of the more startling departures from the canonical records. The presumption, therefore, is that the interpolators did not go outside of the body of Christian *anecdota* for their material.

Some obvious parallels with the *Toldoth* are the following :

TƳ.

He spake over him the letters (of the Ineffable Name) (TƳ. ii, 19)

There joined themselves unto him the insurgents of his people (B. full 300) (TƳ. iii, 23)

Now when the wise men saw that all were believing in him, straightway they . . . led him before Helene the queen (TƳ. iii, 1)

She sent horsemen on his account . . . to take him, but the men of Upper Galilee would not suffer them, and began to fight. . . . They came with him before the queen (TƳ. iii, 12-23)

And the insurgents caused him to escape. . . . Then Jesus hastened to Jordan . . . and performed the signs as at the first (TƳ. iii, 43 *et* W.)

In these few parallels there are several close verbal agreements and an unbroken continuity of ideas that rather suggests that behind both documents there may be a narrative that is fairly constant in its traditional forms. Elements that we have found elsewhere, such as the breaking of the sabbath, the disappearance of the body of Jesus accompanied by the suggestion of theft, are also present. But the feature that stands out above every other is the story of the release, or escape, of Jesus after his interrogation. The canonical records inform us that Pilate wanted to release him. In the Slavonic Josephus that release is actually effected. Unless there was some persistent and reliable authority for such an assertion, one cannot believe

SƳ.

And all, whatsoever he wrought though an invisible power, he wrought by a word and command And there gathered to him of helpers 150, but of the crowd a multitude

And when thereafter news of it was brought to the Jewish leaders, they assembled together with the high priest and said . . . we will go and communicate to Pilate what we have heard

And he sent and had many of the multitude slain. And he had that wonder-worker brought up

And after he had held an inquiry concerning him . . . he let him go. . . . And after he had gone to his wonted place, he did his wonted works.

that any Christian would have invented a story so at variance with his New Testament. And it is to be noted that both here and in the *Toldoth* the conclusion is the same, Jesus goes away and renews his miracles.

The Slavonic Josephus, whatever else it may be, is therefore another important witness that one of the most startling ideas in the *Toldoth* has its roots firmly in Christian tradition. It is reflected in the *Joseph* apocryphon (see above p. 96), and is now shown to have been known in the Byzantine Church in a variant form between the seventh and tenth century. Again we may ask, was the *Gospel of the Hebrews* the ultimate source of the tradition?

Before we close this chapter we may note that there is perhaps a clue to the date of this extra-Josephan matter in the use of the word "helpers" to denote the disciples of Jesus. The word is used frequently of the apostles in the Quran, *Sura* iii, etc. "Jesus said, Who will be my helpers for God? The apostles answered, We will be the helpers for God." In the same way the redactor of the *Toldoth* links the Ishmaelites (i.e., Mohammedans) with the Nazarenes (*Tj.* vi, 9). It is probable, therefore, that the Greek text on which the Slavonic Josephus rests, and the *Toldoth* in its present form, date from about the eighth century, and that both were completed in the Eastern Roman Empire, after the rise of Islam. In the next chapter we deal with the comparisons between the *Toldoth* and the Islamic literature.

CHAPTER XI

THE "TOLDOTH" AND THE ISLAMIC LITERATURE

CHRISTIANS of various theological opinions contributed the information about the life of Jesus which Mohammed incorporated in the Quran. But the very character of the work limited the possibilities of detailed reference to the prophet Isa (Jesus) and his Injil (Gospel), and we have largely to depend on the Arab commentators to expand the notices in haggadic fashion after the manner of the Jewish midrashim.

It is obvious that any connections of ideas that may be discovered between the *Toldoth* and the Islamic literature are of particular value, partly as helping to date our document, but specially as indicating its oriental environment. When we come to deal with the *Toldoth* supplements (chapters vii and viii) we shall find significantly that the only available parallel to this section of our text is supplied by the authority of El-Kalbi.

Apart from the Quran itself the principal Islamic sources are the commentaries of El-Beidhawi and Eth-Thalabi. The latter's *Kitab Kusus al Anbiah*, written early in the eleventh century, is a veritable treasury of traditional lore, giving exact references to old authorities.

On the birth of Jesus the Quran states that the angel appeared to Mary in the form of a perfect specimen of manhood. "We sent unto her our spirit; and he took for

her the semblance of a well-made man. Said she, Verily, I take refuge in the Merciful One from thee, if thou art pious. Said he, I am only a messenger of thy Lord to bestow on thee a pure boy" (*Sura xix*). The commentators make clear, what is here suggested, that the angel was the instrument of the Spirit, and that Mary became pregnant through him, not carnally, but by inflation. In the *Toldoth*, (i, 5) the seducer of Mary is a martial person of fair appearance, and we have explained the satire that transformed Gabriel into a warrior.

The story that his mother brought the boy Jesus before a teacher (*Tj.* i, 22) is represented in the Islamic literature by the statement of Mohammed ibn Ali el-Bakir. "When Jesus was born . . . his mother took him by the hand and led him to the school and placed him between the hands of the teacher."

We have already alluded to the description of the apostles as "helpers" (*Sura iii*), and it is of importance to note that this is made in conjunction with a reference to the miracle of the clay birds (*Tj.* iii, 16).

Jesus said : I have come to you with a sign from God, namely, that I will create for you out of clay as it were the form of a bird, and I will breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird by God's permission ; and I will heal the blind from birth, and lepers ; and I will bring the dead to life by God's permission.

Quite correctly, if we have the *Toldoth* in mind, this miracle is associated with the ministry of Jesus and not, as in *Thomas* erroneously, with his childhood. We have argued that the miracle of the birds was connected in the original with the idea of the value of human life in the sight of God, so that it is very striking to find that the Quran passage just

quoted links up with the same idea in the Sermon on the Mount ; for it continues immediately :

And I will prophecy unto you what ye shall eat, and what ye shall lay up in store in your houses. . . . And I come to confirm the Law which was before me.

Further, in *Sura v*, Jesus asks God to " send down to us a table from heaven to be to us as a festival." Now we have seen the charge of Celsus, that the deeds of Jesus were like those of the Egyptians jugglers, " who exhibit expensive banquets, and tables, and dishes, and dainties having no real existence, and who will put in motion, as if alive, what are not really living animals, but which have only the appearance of life." Evidently the miracles of the clay birds is on a level with the miracle of the feeding of the multitude, symbolic of the " table in the kingdom," though the one has been retained in the canonical records and the other has been rejected as too fabulous.

The Quran knows also of the accusation of sorcery against Jesus : " When thou camest unto them with evident miracles, and such of them as believed not, said, This is nothing but manifest sorcery " (*Sura v*. Cf. *Tj*. iii, 2).

The most curious of the Islamic traditions, however, are those which refer to the aerial flight of Jesus, and the death of someone resembling him physically. It is well-known that the Quran supports the docetic view of the fate of Jesus in its extreme form. According to this presentation, the Jews were cheated of their vengeance on Christ by a miracle whereby another man was given his likeness and suffered in his stead. This in itself is significant, for docetism (the doctrine that Jesus only *seemed* to suffer on the cross) was an extremely early heresy, elaborated by the Gnostics. In the *Acts of John*, we read :

I (John), however, though I saw the beginning of his passion could not stay to the end, but fled into the Mount of Olives weeping over that which had befallen. And when he was hung on the tree of the cross, at the sixth hour of the day darkness came over the whole earth. And my Lord stood in the midst of the Cave, and filled it with light, and said : John, to the multitude below, in Jerusalem, I am being crucified, and pierced with spears and reeds, and vinegar and gall is being given me to drink. To thee now I speak, and give ear to what I say . . . Thou hearest that I suffered ; yet I did not suffer : that I suffered not ; yet I did suffer : that I was pierced ; yet was I not smitten : that I was hanged ; yet I was not hanged : that blood flowed from me ; yet it did not flow : and in a word the things they say about me I had not, and the things they do not say those I suffered.

It was no great stretch for the Christian midrash-makers to substitute for the suffering of Jesus in semblance the suffering of someone else in his semblance, and even in one version that the real sufferer was Judas the betrayer.

The reference to the cave and the mountain in the *Acts of John* is, we believe, the oldest mention of features connected with the aerial flight story with which we have already become familiar, and shows how consistent in detail are so many of these ancient traditions.

We may now offer two versions supplied by the Islamic commentators.

Makátal said : Verily, the Jews appointed a man to keep guard over Jesus, and to go wherever he went ; and when Jesus went up to a mountain, an angel came and lifted him up to heaven. Then God made the man who watched him resemble Jesus, and the Jews thought that

it was Jesus ; so they took him. And he kept on saying, I am not Jesus ; I am So-and-So, the son of So-and-So ; but they would not believe him, and they killed and crucified him.

Kalbi says : The Jews hated Jesus with a strong hatred, and gathered together to murder him. Then God Most High sent Gabriel, upon whom be peace, who caused him to enter into a hovel, and concealed him on the roof. Then God Most High lifted him from its parapet. Then the chief of the Jews commanded one of his men who was called Phelatanus (*Pilate* or *Philogenes* ?), that he should enter the hovel and kill him. And when Phelatanus entered he did not see him, and he remained behind a long time, so they thought that he was killing him. Then God made him appear like Jesus, and when he came out they thought he was Jesus and they killed and crucified him.

In these two accounts we have both the lifting up of Jesus and the crucifixion of a substitute in his likeness, and we cannot help but associate them with the aerial flight of Jesus in the *Toldoth* (iii, 27), the combat of Phineas and Balaam in the Targum, the struggle between Jesus and Judas in Elijah's cave according to Shemtob ibn Shaprut, and the fragment of the *Gospel of the Hebrews* dealing with the lifting up of Jesus by the Spirit on to Mount Tabor. We are confronted with a definite cycle of oriental legend with a basis in Christian origins, which we cannot possibly ignore, and which again confirms that the compiler of the *Toldoth* is not an inventor of the statements which he supplies.

The Jewish attack obviously arms itself from *Isaiah* xiv, 12-20, which begins so appropriately from their standpoint:

How art thou fallen from heaven, O Day-Star,¹ son

¹ A title applied to Jesus, cf. II, *Peter* i, 19.

of the morning ! . . . For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven . . . I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north.

But the Jewish attack would have had no force unless it was directed against a Jewish Christian statement about an incident in the life of Jesus which happened about the time of his crucifixion. Dimly we can perceive what this may have been from *John* xii, 23-36.

Jesus answered them, saying, the hour is come that the Son of Man should be glorified. . . . And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me. . . . These things spake Jesus, and departed, and did hide himself from them.

There are other Islamic traditions that are pertinent to our inquiry, and which will be considered at appropriate places. Taken together with the quotations set forth above they confirm that the *Toldoth* cannot possibly have been of mediæval European origin, but belongs to the orient, and the material utilized is set back within the framework of legends and traditions which developed out of Jewish Christian beliefs.

CHAPTER XII

THE "TOLDOTH" "ACTS"

So far in our investigation that part of the *Toldoth* which we have designated as the "Acts" has received only incidental mention. It has been necessary to distinguish it from the *Toldoth* "Gospel" in order to avoid confusion between the traditions bearing on the life of Christ and those which concern the history of the Church. In our division of the text, the *Acts* section embraces three chapters, vi to viii ; but only the first of these is of early date and dependent on a Jewish Christian original. The two last chapters, which are omitted in B., introduce such personages as Nestorius and Simon Stylites, and cannot be earlier than the sixth century. They are only of value therefore in assisting us to discover the date and place of origin of the final text after it had passed through the hands of at least one editor. We shall discuss these supplements in the next chapter.

It has been remarked in the Introduction that it is of no small significance that there should be found attached to the *Toldoth* "Gospel" an Acts of the Apostles in much the same way as Luke's two treatises belong together. Had this phenomenon not been present it might have weighed against the thesis which we are trying to establish. Being present, our case receives additional strength from this fact.

So far as the writer is aware, Professor Benjamin Bacon was the first to suggest that an Acts of the Apostles formed the concluding part of *Hebrews* (i.e., the Ebionite Gospel).

If Synoptic gospel tradition (he says) could be thought in need of improvement (by the Ebionites) much more its sequel in Luke's second "treatise." Canonical Acts made the writing of "new Acts of the Apostles" an absolute necessity if Ebionite views were to stand. (What is to be inferred from the data which he cites) is enough to make it highly probable that the chief aim of the *Ev. Hebr.* (Gospel of the Hebrews) was to meet the representation of *Acts* i-xv, where Peter is made both the founder and leader of the Church, with another in better accord with Ebionite views. As conceived by the Ebionites this entire development belonged properly to James and the original twelve, the work of Paul being purely and simply that of an "enemy," a "renegade and apostate from the Law." Both parts of such a revised Luke-Acts might easily be comprised within the compass of 2,200 *stichoi* (i.e., the length of *Hebrews* given in the *Stichometry of Nicephorus*).¹

If Bacon's main contention is true, leaving aside the question of the priority of the Lukan over the Ebionite Acts, it will only be necessary to establish from the little we know, or can credibly infer, as to the contents of the Jewish Christian Acts that the *Toldoth* shows dependence on it. And perhaps even further it may be possible to utilize the text of the *Toldoth* in restoring the structure of the lost Hebrew Acts.

The existence of this Acts is not in question. Epiphanius speaks of it in so many words.

They (the Ebionites) have other Acts which they call "of the Apostles," among which are many things filled with their impiety, whence they have incidentally supplied themselves with arms against the truth. For they

¹ *Studies in Matthew*, pp. 494-495.

set forth certain Ascents and Instructions forsooth in the *Ascents of James*, representing him as holding forth against both temple and sacrifices, and against the fire on the altar, and many other things filled with empty talk, so that they are not ashamed in them even to denounce Paul in certain invented utterances of the malignant and deceitful work of their false apostles.¹

We cannot expect to find in the *Toldoth* "Acts," any more than in the *Toldoth* "Gospel," details of teaching and incident which did not enter into the intention of the compiler. His purpose is polemical, and he has no desire to afford a better testimony to Christianity than he can help. Much that we are anxious to know has been inevitably lost in the merciless abridgment, and more in the Acts than in the Gospel proper. Nevertheless we should be thankful that the Jewish parodist has been as fair and faithful as his particular standpoint permits, and he has allowed some very striking admissions to pass uncontradicted.

To anyone who has made a careful study of primitive Jewish Christianity it is evident that the document underlying the *Toldoth* "Acts" covers the period from the foundation of the Church at Jerusalem to its exodus to the region of Pella beyond Jordan immediately before the investment of the city by the Romans, that is to say approximately from A.D. 30-68. This is rather what we should expect in a Hebrew Acts.

The narrative opens with a kind of introduction describing the missionary activities of the apostles in distant lands. It tells of the success of their preaching and eventual martyrdom. The text then considers the progress of the Faith in Judea. It is admitted that many Jews accept the messianic claims of Jesus, and that this results in keen

¹ *Panar.* xxx, 16.

controversy and even graver disorders. The Nazarenes urge that it is the Lord's anointed whom the citizens of Jerusalem have caused to be slain, to which their opponents retort that they have believed in a false prophet. It is made abundantly clear that the Nazarenes remain in the Synagogue ; they make no attempt to found an independent religious communion, and, much to the discomfort of the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities, this state of affairs continues for the space of some thirty years. The movement does not suffer an anticipated natural extinction. Rather does it develop, and in the minds of the authorities it is associated with the increasing violence of the Jewish zealots. Definite action has to be taken to suppress the messianic extremists by getting rid of the Nazarenes ; but it is evident that they have now become too powerful and popular a body either to excommunicate or to exterminate. Subtlety has to be employed, and to this end a pious Jew named Elijah (S.) or Simeon (W.) is invited to feign himself a follower of Jesus, and by erroneous teaching to secure the voluntary secession of the Nazarenes from the Jewish community. There is a fusion, no doubt deliberate, of this teacher, who is to be identified with Simeon the son of Cleophas, leader of the Nazarenes after the death of James, with Paul " the renegade from the Law," but reading carefully we can see that the desired result is obtained, not by the unjewish ordinances enunciated by the " enemy," but by the warnings of impending divine judgment on Judea proclaimed by the Nazarene leader. Finally the Nazarenes leave Jerusalem.

Now all this may seem to some a reading into the text of more than is strictly implied. That this is not the case can readily be shown. We have actually done no more than recast the material in the mould of Nazarene history as we are now beginning to understand it, and the result is a

portrait that is faithful enough in its rough outlines.

We may now bring to bear on our chapter the illumination supplied by the available historical and traditional sources.

The Great Commission

It would be proper to expect that any text purporting to deal with the rise of the Church would be introduced by a commission of the Messiah to his disciples to proclaim the Kingdom throughout the world. So in fact we find it in the Lukan Acts (i, 8). The *Toldoth* "Acts" is therefore quite in order in commencing with the preaching of the apostles. But the most cursory reading of the *Toldoth* version shows that it cannot be dependent on Luke's treatise. We have to look, then, for an alternative form of the commission that might reasonably provide a basis for the statements of the Jewish parodist. There is evidence of such a Nazarene version in the lost *Preaching of Peter*, quoted by Clement of Alexandria¹ and supported by Apollonius:²

I chose out you twelve, judging you to be disciples worthy of me, whom the Lord willed, and thinking you faithful envoys ; sending you into the world to preach the Gospel to men throughout the world, that they should know that there is one God ; to declare by faith in me what shall be, that they that have heard and believed may be saved, and that they which have not believed may hear and bear witness, not having any defence so as to say " We did not hear.—"

and again

If then any of Israel will repent to believe in God through my name, his sins shall be forgiven him : after

¹ *Strom.* VI, v, 43 ; vi. 48.

² In Euseb. *H.E.* Bk. V, xviii.

twelve years go ye out into the world, lest any say "We did not hear."

Now it is of interest that Jesus should speak here of his choice of the twelve, before giving them his commission ; for according to Bacon a fragment of *Hebrews* is rightly to be considered as the introduction to the Ebionite Acts. "The only possible way to make room for Jacobean tradition was to append, at the point left open by Luke, an apostolic commission to 'Israel' delivered by the risen Christ to James and the Twelve, in short, another version of the Acts of the Apostles, in which not Peter, as in Luke's second 'treatise,' delivers the message but James and the Twelve."¹

The fragment of *Hebrews* runs as follows :

There was a certain man named Jesus, he was about thirty years old, who made choice of us. And he came down to Capernaum and entered into the house of Simon surnamed Peter. And he opened his mouth and said : Passing along by the Sea of Tiberias I chose for myself John and James the sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew . . . and Thaddeus and Simon the Zealot and Judas Iscariot ; and thee Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, I called and thou didst follow me. I therefore intend you to be twelve apostles as a testimony to Israel.²

"The speaker is manifestly James," says Bacon. "He appears to be haranguing a mixed multitude ignorant of the story of Jesus, for they require to be told even the Redeemer's name as well as the opening scenes of his career. . . . In short James performs exactly the functions of Peter in *Acts* i, 12-ii, 40, and x, 36-43."³

We shall have more to say later of the Jacobean element

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 492.

² Epiph. *Panar.* xxx, 13.

³ Bacon, *loc. cit.*

in the Nazarene tradition; but we are at present concerned with the character of the apostolic commission in the Hebrew Acts.

Paul in his *Epistle to the Romans* appears to found his argument in Chapter X on a form of the apostolic commission similar to that quoted from the *Preaching of Peter*, but introducing Old Testament *testimonia*, indicating a very early date.

How then shall they (Jew and Greek) call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent? as it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace. . . . So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. But I say, Have they not heard? Yes verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.¹

Nearly a century later Justin Martyr sees in the sending forth of the apostles the fulfilment of *Isaiah* ii, 3.

That it (the prophecy that the word of the Lord should go forth from Jerusalem) did come to pass, we can convince you. For from Jerusalem there went forth into the world men, twelve in number, and these illiterate, of no ability in speaking: but by the power of God they proclaimed to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach to all the word of God.²

Islamic tradition has also preserved an account of the apostolic commission, which seems to depend on the Nazarene teaching. Eth-Thalabi says:

When God commanded Jesus to come down . . .

¹ *Rom.* x, 14-18.

² *I. Apol.* xxxix.

seven days after his ascension, he came down . . . and a mountain burned with light when he came down. So the disciples gathered together, and he sent them out into the world to call men to God. . . . And the disciples scattered as he had commanded them. . . . Now they say that Peter turned his face to Rome ; and Andrew and Matthew to the country of the cannibals ; and Thomas and Levi to the land of the East ; and Philip and Jude to Kairwan and Africa ; and John to Ephesus . . . and James and his brother to Jerusalem . . . and Bartholomew to Arabia, that is Hejaz ; and Simon to the land of Barbar. And every one of the disciples, when he came to the people to whom he was sent, spoke in their language.

In *Nicodemus* the commission at the end of Mark is given on a mountain variously called Mamilch, Mabre, Malech and Mabrech. It is supposedly situated in Galilee, and may mean the Royal Mount. There was a Royal Mount in Judea, apparently a late name for Mount Ephraim, called in the Targum *Tur Malka* and in the Talmud *Har haMelech*. Conybeare suggests that the mountain of the Amalekites is intended (*Judges* v, 14, xii, 15).¹ In *Matthew* the commission is given on an unnamed mountain (xxviii, 16). As to the mountain burning with fire, that is a Jewish indication of a theophany. In *Hebrews* and several MS. readings a fire was kindled in Jordan when Jesus was baptized.

There is therefore evidence enough of a presumably Nazarene form of the commission distinct from the Lukan version, in which the risen Christ addressed the twelve, and afterwards James conveyed it in his speech to the assembled multitudes. In such a Jewish document the testimony to Israel would embrace the whole world, just as

¹ *Fragments of an Ancient (?Egyptian) Gospel used by the Cathars of Albi* (Hibbert Journal, Vol. XI. No. 4).

James in his Epistle sends greetings "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad." In Hebraic parlance the whole world would be described as "the four corners of the earth." So that for the twelve apostles to preach to the twelve tribes they would have to go forth in groups of three. A text which contained such an idea evidently lies behind the *Toldoth*, and what is required is a Gospel text which employs this conception, and at the same time approximates closely to the sense of the passage in the *Preaching of Peter* and our other quotations. The text that is demanded is ready to our hand, and has already been quoted above (p. 109). For convenience we may reproduce it again.

. . . the just one. They went forth by threes to the four regions of the heaven and preached the gospel of the kingdom in the whole world, Christ working with them by the word of strengthening and the signs and wonders which accompanied them. And so have men learned of the Kingdom of God in all the earth and in the whole world of Israel for a testimony for all nations that are from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof.

It is impossible to say whether the expression "the just one" belongs to Jesus or to James, as it has been used of both. If it refers to James it adds another to the catalogue of Jacobean notices relating to the history of the primitive Church. We may claim that this Gospel fragment cannot have been very different from what was read in the Hebrew Acts, and consequently that the *Toldoth* is consistently following the same source.

The Contending of the Apostles

Chapters iii to v of canonical Acts provides us with a background to the *Toldoth* "Acts" (vi, 3-6). Yet again

there are notable differences which suggest that the original lying before the compiler was less moderate in its statements. Let us, however, in the first place note some agreements.

Tŷ. vi, 3

And many of our own insurgents went astray after him (Jesus)

Acts iv, 4

Howbeit many of them which heard the word believed; and the number of the men was about five thousand

Tŷ. vi, 3

And there was strife between them and the children of Israel

Acts iv, 1-2

The priests, and the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees, came upon them, being grieved that they taught the people

Tŷ. vi, 4

And wheresoever the insurgents saw Israel, they said to Israel, Ye have slain the Lord's Anointed

Acts ii, 36

Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Anointed (cf. v, 30-31)

Tŷ. vi, 5

And Israel used to say to them, Ye are children of death, in that ye have believed on a false prophet

Acts v, 33, 40

When they heard that, they were cut to the heart, and took counsel to slay them . . . They commanded that they should not speak in the name of Jesus

Tŷ. vi, 6

And there was strife and discord between them

Acts viii, 1

And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem

It would appear that the *Toldoth* is dealing with the first clash between the Nazarenes and the Sadducean hierarchy at Jerusalem. But in the *Toldoth* the language conveys that the opposing bodies are fairly evenly matched, and that feeling on both sides runs high. The controversy is religio-political: it is a clash between messianic nationalists and the moderate highpriestly party. The facts of history, and what little we know of the Hebrew Acts, justify the language

of the *Toldoth* as the narrative in canonical Acts does not. "Our own *insurgents* went astray after Jesus," says the writer. "There was disorder of prayers and spoliation of wealth. . . . There was strife and discord so that Israel had no rest."

We have to understand, though the evidence cannot be examined here in detail, that primitive Jewish Christianity did not represent the foundation of a new religion. It was Jewish to the core, and because of its messianism it was intensely patriotic. It was no idle question that the apostles asked of the risen Christ, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" The movement was a popular one and could not fail to be hand-in-glove with the more zealous of the Jews who prayed and sometimes strove with carnal weapons for the coming of the Kingdom of God. Nurtured in the fierce highlands of Galilee, the faith which originated with the teaching of Jesus soon attracted to itself numerous adherents drawn from the great mass of the people which was opposed to the Roman domination and detested the corrupt Sadducean high priests. The majority of these nationalists, who resisted infringement of their liberties, belonged to the peasant and artisan classes. It was largely their sullen resentment, fanned into open revolt by petty acts of oppression on one hand and the fervid denunciations of their own prophets on the other, which led to the outbreak of the Jewish War.

The description of the Nazarenes in the reign of Claudius which is found in the Old Russian Josephus is truthful enough in spite of the corrupt text, and very probably depends in its essential on the Hebrew Acts. We have already quoted the passage in full (see above p. 163), but we may reproduce one paragraph here.

And since in the time of him (i.e., Claudius) many helpers of the wonder-worker aforementioned had appeared and spoken to the people of their Master (saying) that he was alive, although he had been dead, and "he will free you from bondage," many of the multitude hearkened to the(ir) preaching and took heed of their directions, not on account of their reputation, for they were of the humbler sort, some mere tailors, others sandal-makers, (or) other artisans. But wonderful were the signs which they worked, in truth what(ever) they wanted.

The leader of the Nazarene-Zealot party was James the Just, and he plays the principal part in the Hebrew Acts. Hegesippus, reflecting this source, gives the following description of him :

James the brother of the Lord succeeded to the government of the Church in conjunction with the apostles. He has been called "the Just," by all from the time of our Saviour to the present day ; for there were many that bore the name of James. He was consecrate from his mother's womb ; and he drank no wine nor strong drink, nor did he eat flesh. No razor came upon his head ; he did not anoint himself with oil, nor did he use the bath. He alone was permitted to enter into the Holy Place ; for he wore not woollen but linen garments. And he was in the habit of entering alone into the temple, and was frequently found upon his knees begging forgiveness for the (Jewish) people, so that his knees became hard like those of a camel, in consequence of his constantly bending them in his worship of God, and asking forgiveness for the (Jewish) people. Because of his exceeding great justice he was called "the Just" and

Oblias which signifies in Greek "Protection of the people," and "Justification," in accordance with what the prophets declare concerning him.¹

This sombre Nazirite, blood relation of the Messiah, was a fitting figurehead to the patriotic party, a fanatical puritan commanding admiration and respect, a man of the people, yet invested with spiritual sovereignty and dignified by his Davidic descent. It is only when we recognize the appeal of this powerful personality, and the quality of the Jewish Christian message, that the figures of thousands who believe, which sound so unreal as quoted in the Acts become an under-estimate of the crowds which flocked to the banner of Jesus. It is more intelligible that the Sadducean hierarchy should have taken fearful cognizance of this formidable movement which menaced their rule and the security of the government than that they should have concerned themselves with an insignificant religious sect. The sympathies of the mob are always liable to sudden change, and now those who had clamoured obediently for the death of Jesus when he seemed to have failed, and demanded the release of the revolutionary Barabbas, were inspired by the preaching of the resurrection to turn on the crafty Sadducean murderers. We can read much between the lines even of canonical *Acts*, when we have a proper grasp of the situation. How significant is the following passage :

Now when the high priest and the captain of the temple and the chief priests heard these things, *they doubted of them whereunto this would grow*. Then came one and told them, saying, Behold, the men whom ye put in prison are standing in the temple, and teaching the people. Then went the captain with the officers, and brought them without violence : *for they feared the people*,

¹ In Euseb. *H.E.* Bk. II, xxiii.

*lest they should have been stoned. And when they had brought them, they set them before the council : and the high priest asked them, saying, Did not we straitly command you, that ye should not teach in this name, and, behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us.*¹

Here we obtain a glimpse of an acute situation with the chief priests on one side and the people of Jerusalem on the other, and the situation has been aggravated by the Nazarenes, who have won the populace to their cause with their accusation against the Sadducees, "Ye have slain the Lord's anointed." It must be remembered that at this time (c. 37 A.D.) Caiaphas, who had pronounced sentence on Jesus, was still high priest.

Now if we turn to Josephus we find that at this very time Vitellius, the Roman Legate of Syria, was anxious to conciliate the people of Jerusalem. He first of all (in A.D. 36) "ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer before the Emperor to the accusations of the Jews." He then further went up to Jerusalem at the Passover of A.D. 37, and released the citizens from the fruit tax and restored to the Jews the custody of the priestly vestments. "And this he did as an act of kindness, to oblige the nation to him. Besides which he also deprived Joseph, who was called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus, the former high priest, to succeed him."²

It is surely significant that Vitellius, to please the populace, should at this particular time have got rid of the two authorities, Roman and Jewish, who had been responsible for the judicial murder of Jesus.

If the crucifixion is rightly to be dated at the Passover of A.D. 30 we have another confirmation of the situation at this

¹ Acts 7, 24-28.

² Jos. Antiq. XVIII., iv, 2-3.

period in the *Ascents of James*, a Jewish Christian work expanded from the Hebrew Acts, and partly preserved in the Clementine *Recognitions*. The story here differs from the account in *Acts* v. In the latter Peter and John alone are brought before the Council, having been found teaching about Jesus in the Temple. Gamaliel, a Pharisee and therefore sympathetic to the popular movement, rises among the Sadducees and advises moderation. The Council agrees with his view, and after ordering the apostles to be beaten, lets them go.

The Ascents of James

The time covered by the remains of the *Ascents* in the *Recognitions* is from the Pentecost of A.D. 30 to the Passover of A.D. 37, corresponding with canonical Acts i-v. The narrator is Peter. We propose to quote considerable extracts, as both the narrative and the language requires to be followed very carefully.

(The Prophet) chose us twelve, the first who believed in him, whom he named apostles ; and afterwards other seventy-two most approved disciples, that, at least in this way recognizing the pattern of Moses, the multitude might believe that this is he of whom Moses foretold, the Prophet that was to come.

In proof that these things were done by divine power, we who had been very few became in the course of a few days, by the help of God, far more than they (the opponents of Jesus). So that the priests at one time were afraid, lest haply, by the providence of God, to their confusion, the whole of the people should come over to our faith. Therefore they often sent to us, and asked us to discourse to them concerning Jesus, whether he were

the Prophet whom Moses foretold, who is the eternal Messiah. For on this point only does there seem to be any difference between us who believe in Jesus and the Jews who do not believe. But while they often made such requests to us, and we sought for a fitting opportunity, a week of years (A.D. 30-37) was completed from the passion of the Lord, the Church of the Lord which was constituted in Jerusalem was most plentifully multiplied and grew, being governed with most righteous ordinances by James, who was ordained bishop in it by the Lord.

But when we twelve apostles, on the day of the Passover, had come together with an immense multitude, and entered into the church of the brethren, each one of us, at the request of James, stated briefly, in the hearing of the people, what we had done in every place. While this was going on, Caiaphas the high priest sent priests to us, and asked us to come to him, that either we should prove to him that Jesus is the eternal Messiah, or he to us that he is not, and that so all the people should agree upon the one faith or the other. . . . And (as) it pleased all the Church, we went up to the temple, and, standing on the steps together with our faithful brethren, the people kept perfect silence.

(The high priest spoke first challenging the Nazarene doctrine that baptism had done away with the sacrificial system. Matthew replies, and thereafter other apostles give their testimony, refuting attacks by representatives of the various Jewish sects. After all have had their say, Caiaphas speaks again, accusing Jesus of having taught vain things "for he said that the poor are blessed ; and promised earthly rewards ; and placed the chief gift in an earthly inheritance ; and promised that those who maintain righteousness shall be satisfied with meat and drink."

He then warns Peter against being deceived by a false prophet. Peter makes a spirited reply, in which he urges that the time of sacrifices has passed away, and prophesies that the temple shall be destroyed, and the abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy place. At this the chief priests are naturally enraged.

Now Gamaliel steps forward with his moderate counsels, "who was secretly our brother in the faith, but by our advice remained among them." As the day is declining, he says, he will dispute with the apostles on the morrow. The next day not only are the apostles present but James also. After Gamaliel has made an opening speech James begins his discourse. The discussion continues for the space of seven days, and when on the last day it has become evident that the people are convinced of the truth a diversion is caused by Saul of Tarsus (described simply as "that enemy").

He began to drive all into confusion with shouting, and to undo what had been arranged with much labour, and at the same time to reproach the priests, and to enrage them with revilings and abuse, and, like a madman, to excite every one to murder, saying, What do ye? Why do ye hesitate? Oh, sluggish and inert, why do we not lay hands upon them, and pull all these fellows to pieces? When he had said this, he first, seizing a strong brand from the altar, set the example of smiting. Then others also, seeing him, were carried away with like madness. Then ensued a tumult on either side, of the beating and the beaten. Much blood is shed; there is a confused flight, in the midst of which that enemy attacked James, and threw him headlong from the top of the steps; and supposing him to be dead, he cared not to inflict further violence upon him.

But our friends lifted him up, for they were both more numerous and more powerful than the others ; but, from their fear of God, they rather suffered themselves to be killed by an inferior force, than they would kill others. But when the evening came the priests shut up the temple, and we returned to the house of James, and spent the night there in prayer. Then before daylight we went down to Jericho, to the number of 5,000 men. Then after three days one of the brethren came to us from Gamaliel, whom we mentioned before, bringing to us secret tidings that that enemy had received a commission from Caiaphas, the chief priest, that he should arrest all who believed in Jesus, and should go to Damascus with his letters, and that there also, employing the help of the unbelievers, he should make havoc among the faithful ; and that he was hastening to Damascus chiefly on this account, because he believed that Peter had fled thither. And about thirty days thereafter he stopped on his way while passing through Jericho going to Damascus. At that time we were absent, having gone out to the supulchres of two brethren which were whitened of themselves every year, by which miracle the fury of many against us was restrained, because they saw that our brethren were had in remembrance before God.¹

If the *Ascents* is an expanded form of a section of the Hebrew Acts, then that work must have given just those details which are reflected in the *Toldoth*. There is the evidence (1) that many Jews adhered to the doctrine of Jesus ; (2) that serious disorders resulted from the Nazarene preaching ; (3) that the Nazarenes accused the chief priests of slaying the Lord's anointed, and that they retorted in kind that the Nazarenes had believed on a false prophet ;

¹ The extracts quoted are from *Recog.* chs. xl-xxii.

(4) that the Nazarenes did not leave the Jewish community, claiming that only the question of the Messiahship of Jesus distinguished them from the rest of the Jews; and (5) that strife and discord developed between the opposing parties.

The Climax of the Controversy

After the circumstances of A.D. 37, the *Toldoth* jumps to c. A.D. 60. The date is indicated by *TJ*. vi, 7, "It is now thirty years since the time that that wicked one was slain." According to the compiler, the Sanhedrin is concerned that the situation has not improved. Indeed, it has grown steadily worse. The "insurgents" not only create strife and discord but "profane the sabbath and the feasts and slay each one his fellow" (verse 10).

Here again it is necessary to turn for illumination to contemporary Jewish history as recorded by Josephus.

In A.D. 59 Ishmael ben Phabi was high priest and Antonius Felix procurator of Judea. Josephus paints for us a grim picture of the state of the country. Felix had captured the patriot-chieftain Eleazar bar Dinai and many of his followers.

When the country was purged of these, there sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, which were called Sicarii, *who slew men in the daytime, and in the midst of the city; this they did chiefly at the festivals*, when they mingled themselves among the multitude, and concealed daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies. . . . There was also another body of wicked men gotten together, not so impure in their actions, but more wicked in their intentions, who laid waste the unhappy state of the city no less than did these murderers. These were such men as

*deceived and deluded the people under pretence of divine inspiration, but were for procuring innovations and changes of the government.*¹

Josephus goes on to refer to the Egyptian pseudo-Messiah for whom Paul was mistaken (*Acts* xxi, 38), and others who asserted their liberty and independence of Roman rule. It is clear that the historian lumps them all together as so many disturbers of the peace, "who filled all Judea with the effects of their madness. And thus the flame was every day more and more blown up, till it came to a direct war."

In the measures of retaliation taken by the Sadducean authorities was the murder of the Nazarene leader James the Just (A.D. 62). No mention is made of this in the Lukan *Acts*; but Hegesippus has left a description of the event,² for which almost certainly he has drawn on the Hebrew *Acts*. It is also recorded in different terms by Josephus.³ The high priest Ananias the younger was the prime mover in the attempt to break up the Nazarene party by striking at its venerated head. But the Pharisees were so strongly opposed to his illegal action that they secured his dismissal from office. It was this same Ananias, who a little before had prosecuted Paul as "a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes."⁴

It would be easy to adduce many other proofs to establish the contention of the *Toldoth*, that historically at the beginning of the seventh decade of the first century the Jewish authorities had come to the conclusion that the most drastic steps were necessary in the interests of peace to get rid of the Nazarene menace.

Before passing on to the next section we may briefly

¹ *Wars* II, xiii, 3-6.

³ *Antiq.* XX, ix. 1.

² In Euseb. *H.E.* Bk. II, 23.

⁴ *Acts* xxiv, 5.

discuss the use of *Deut.* xxxii, 21, by the *Toldoth* compiler. The text "I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation" is applied to the Nazarenes (or Minim) in the ancient rabbinical work *Sifre* (137 b). It seems also to have been used by the Nazarenes of themselves (cf. *Rom.* x, 19). The "Song of Moses" (*Deut.* xxxii, 1-43) was regarded by both Jews and Samaritans as the supreme prophecy of the Last Days.¹ Its judgments underlie the judgments on Jerusalem in the *Book of Revelation*.² Indeed, it is expressly stated that the redeemed sing the Song of Moses the servant of God, and the Song of the Lamb,³ and a targum of *Deut.* xxxii, 4, is quoted at *Rev.* xv, 3.

If the Nazarenes utilized the Song of Moses in their own prophetic interpretations of the events which preceded and followed the destruction of Jerusalem, how can we fail to see its suitability to the circumstances with which we are immediately concerned? To the Sadducees the Nazarenes were a people, who yet were no people, a tribe of foolish and ignorant persons,⁴ moving them to jealousy and provoking them to anger. But to the pious their existence was a forewarning that the judgment of God was impending on those who had waxed fat and kicked (verse 15) and provoked God to anger with their vanities (verse 21), namely the arrogant Sadducean priests. It was held that the only way to avert calamity was to eject these doomfolk from the community.

The Exodus of the Nazarenes

With the last section of this chapter of the *Toldoth* (vi. 11-41) we are confronted with numerous difficulties due to

¹ See Gaster *Samaritan Eschatology*, p. 82.

² Cf. e.g. *Deut.* xxxii, 22-25 with *Rev.* ix, 2-11.

³ In *Deut.* xxxii, 44, it is called the Song of Moses and Jesus (i.e., Joshua the son of Nun).

⁴ *Acts* iv, 13.

changes in order in the different versions and to corruptions through the overworking of later hands. The ends of the old scrolls were naturally the first to be damaged, and subsequent restorations left a great deal to the imagination and viewpoint of the restorer. The same hand that added chapters vii and viii has been busy with the defective end of vi, and it will be best therefore to leave some of the problems to be dealt with when we investigate the supplements. Here we desire to limit the field of our inquiry as much as possible to the historical background of our text in its relationship to the Hebrew Acts. It is important, however, to note this indication of the early date of the original MS. as the redactor did not live later than the eighth century, and the scroll must then have possessed considerable antiquity.

In order to retain the chronological order of events in his source the compiler was more or less forced to supply a substitute for the account of the exodus of the Nazarenes from Jerusalem, and so he relates the story of a certain Elijah, who, by his miracles after the manner of Jesus, gains the support of the Nazarenes as an apostle, and by false commandments estranges them from Judaism and secures their voluntary separation from the community. Neither the New Testament nor Christian tradition knows of any Elijah, who played such a part; but both know of the apostle Paul, who claimed to have received a personal revelation from Jesus, and who taught an anti-legalistic doctrine. The compiler, or redactor, therefore intends us by his Elijah to understand Paul, whose teaching did ultimately effect a breach between the Church and the Synagogue. Indeed, he frankly tells us that Elijah is Paul (*Ty.* vi, 40), and quotes a statement about circumcision which reflects *1 Cor.* vii, 18-19. Then why does he call him Elijah? Because he does the work of Elijah in restoring

the integrity of Israel by expelling the disturbing element : " And this Elijah . . . did it for the restoration of Israel . . . and the strife ceased " (vi, 40-41).

The *Toldoth* Elijah goes to Antioch (verse 16) because Paul went to Antioch (*Acts* xi, 26), where the disciples were first called by the distinctive name of Christians, and where later he had a controversy with Peter about the eating of forbidden foods (*Gal.* ii, 11-14). The Paul of the *Toldoth* also authorizes the eating of forbidden foods (vi, 32). In the Clementine literature Simon Magus goes to Antioch, where he performs miracles, and sets the people against Peter, and many scholars have seen in this Clementine Simon a disguise for Paul. Peter follows Simon to Antioch to prevent him leading the people astray.

In a passage in the Talmud other scholars have seen a reference to Paul.

Our Rabbis have taught : Always let the left hand repel and the right hand invite. Not like Elisha, who repulsed Gehazi with both his hands, and not like Joshua ben Perachiah, who repulsed Jesus the Nazarene with both his hands. What of Elisha ? It is written, " And Naaman said, Be content, take two talents," and it is written, " and he said to him, Went not my heart with thee when the man turned from off his chariot to meet thee ? Is it a time to receive silver, and to receive raiment and olive gardens and vineyards and sheep and cattle and men-servants and maid-servants ? " But had he indeed received all this ? Silver and raiment was what he received. R. Isaac said, " In that hour Elisha was occupied with the eight creeping things (i.e., the law about their uncleanness). He said to him (Gehazi), Wretch, the time has come to receive the punishment (for having partaken) of the eight creeping things, and the

leprosy of Naaman shall cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever." . . . "And Elisha went to Damascus." Why did he go to Damascus? R. Jochanan says that he went to turn Gehazi to repentance, and he did not repent. He said to him, "Repent," and he answered, "Thus have I received from thee, that everyone who has sinned and caused the multitude to sin, has lost the ability to repent." What did he do? Some say he set up a loadstone according to the sin of Jereboam and suspended it between heaven and earth. And some say he wrote the Name upon its mouth, and it used to say "I am" and "Thou shalt not have" (i.e., the Ten Commandments).¹

In the full passage Jesus and Gehazi are associated, and it is suspected that some Christian personage is therefore intended by Gehazi. Both make the same reply when invited to repent. Gehazi is likely to represent Paul, because he is described as rejecting the law about unclean meats, and because he went to Damascus. In his Gentilizing activities he supports the enemies of Israel like the second beast of *Revelation*, who has a lamb's horns but speaks as a dragon. He deceives the people by his miracles, making an image of the first beast, who represents the pseudo-divine Caesar, and gives it breath so that it is able to speak (*Rev.* xiii, 11-15). In the Clementines making statues walk is listed among the prodigies worked by Simon Magus (*Hom.* xxxii).

In all these aliases of Elijah, Simon Magus, Gehazi, we can, then, discern early traditions pointing to the great apostle of the Gentiles; but we should be in error if we concluded that Paul was the person who stood in the compiler's source. His known, and traditional, activities made him a good substitute for the original figure lost

¹ *B. Sotah.* 47 a; *b. Sanh.* 107 b.

in most copies owing to the wearing of the scroll.

In the normal sequence of events we should expect to find at this point in the Hebrew Acts an account of how the Nazarenes left Jerusalem before the Romans invested the city, and of the man who led them out. Paul cannot figure in this story at all as he had already suffered martyrdom in Rome.

When we turn to other texts of the *Toldoth* we find in W. that Simeon Kepha is the man selected by the Jewish authorities to remove the Nazarenes from Israel, who is described as "a certain aged man from among the elders . . . who frequented the Holy of Holies." The name is a scribal mistake; but the description puts us on the right lines. The real and less familiar name has been preserved in Huldreich's text, and we are not surprised when we read it. The name is Simeon ben Kalpus (i.e., Simon the son of Cleophas), a cousin of Jesus, who was elected leader of the Nazarenes after the martyrdom of James the Just.

Simon the son of Cleophas died a martyr under Trajan (c. A.D. 110), and Hegesippus says that he was then 120 years old. Even if this is an exaggeration he would still be rightly described as an aged man in A.D. 67, as is stated in W. The same text says that he frequented the Holy of Holies, just as Hegesippus and Epiphanius say of his predecessor James the Just that he had a right to enter the Holy Place, where he was frequently found in prayer for the sins of the people.

Some reflection of his teaching is perhaps preserved in *TJ*. vi, 36-38. The injunction to bear suffering with meekness, reviling not again, following the example of Christ, is thoroughly Jewish Christian and reads almost like a quotation from 1 *Peter* ii, 20-24 (Cf. *James* v, 10-11). The use of the Sermon on the Mount offers again a likeness to the *Epistle of James*.

The *Toldoth*, then, introduces us to Simon as a pious man, in character very like his predecessor in office.

If we now turn again to Huldreich's version we find a confused account of an army of Nazarenes including "the brethren and kinsmen of Jesus" about to encamp against Jerusalem in order to avenge the slaying of Jesus. In desperation, the elders bethink them of Simeon ben Kalpus, described as an uncle of Jesus, "an honourable old man." Simeon must make them believe that Jesus committed to him all power to teach them not to ill-treat the Israelites, as he has reserved them for his own vengeance. Simeon goes forth on his mission, and persuades the Nazarenes not to wage war against the city, but to return to their homes, as Jesus will avenge himself in due time.

In this version we cannot fail to see a garbled account of the Roman army about to besiege Jerusalem, and the Nazarenes, with the brethren and kinsmen of Jesus, under the leadership of Simon the son of Cleophas, leaving the doomed city and retiring to their own region across the Jordan. Eusebius, supported by Epiphanius, informs us that :

The whole body, however, of the church at Jerusalem, having been commanded by a divine revelation, given to men of approved piety there before the war, removed from the city, and dwelt at a certain town beyond the Jordan, called Pella. Here, those that believed in Christ, having removed from Jerusalem, as if holy men had entirely abandoned the royal city itself, and the whole land of Judea ; the divine justice, for their crimes against Christ and his apostles, finally overtook them, totally destroying the whole generation of these evil-doers from the earth.¹

¹ H.E. Bk. III, v.

The divine revelation to which Eusebius refers is the apocalyptic utterance attributed to Jesus in the Gospels, of which we may particularly quote *Luke xxi, 19-22*.

In your patience possess ye your souls. And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains ; and let them which are in the midst of it (i.e., the city) depart out; and let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto. For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled.

The italicized passages give the sequence of thought which the document underlying the *Toldoth* requires, patience, the siege of the city, the command to the Nazarenes to evacuate the capital, the divine vengeance. The *Toldoth* leaving a clue to its source text appropriately quotes *Zeph. ii, 3*.

And at the Day of Judgment Jesus will cast them off ; but ye shall have hope because of your meekness. For so it is written, Seek ye the Lord, all ye meek of the earth, which have wrought his judgment ; seek righteousness, seek meekness ; it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the Lord's anger. Until he (Paul, really Simon) had separated them from Israel (*Tŷ. vi, 37-39*).

It is of interest that Origen (*C. Cels*, Bk. I, x, vii) refers to a passage in the writings of Josephus, in which the destruction of Jerusalem was stated to be in revenge for the death of James the Just. He says that Josephus should have said that it was in revenge for the slaying of Christ. No doubt his MS. of Josephus had been interpolated from Hegesippus, who, depending on the Hebrew Acts, says

at the conclusion of his account of the martyrdom of James, "Immediately after this, Vespasian invaded and took Judea."

The case seems then to be clear that the importation of Elijah-Paul into the picture is due to the redactor, who, having to account for the traces of the departure of the Nazarenes in his defective text, substituted an anachronistic story of the later separation between the Church and the Synagogue, which was ultimately due to Pauline teaching. Probably he took his cue from *Malachi* iv, 5-6.

Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord : and he shall restore the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.

The previous verse in *Malachi* speaks of God's statutes and judgments, and so the redactor tells us (vi, 40), " And *this pseudo-Elijah*, which shewed unto them *statutes that were not good*, did it for *the restoration of Israel* : and the Nazarenes call him Paul."

The original author of the *Toldoth* could hardly have obtained his knowledge of Simeon the son of Cleophas and the Nazarene exodus from any Gentile Christian source. He must, we suggest, have been utilizing a Jewish Christian text such as the Hebrew Acts.

In this section there remain only the allusions to changes of feast-days which require brief comment. They vary slightly in the several versions, and bristle with inaccuracies. As Krauss says : " The Jewish narrator could not have had any Christian Calendar before him as he wrote, and cared not to obtain precise information."¹ Their only

¹ *LJFQ*. p. 272.

value is as a slight indication of the date of the compiler, or redactor.

Reviewing the results of this rather long chapter, we may say that the cumulative effect of the evidence is strongly in favour of the hypothesis that the Hebrew Acts, forming the concluding part of *Hebrews*, is the source underlying chapter vi of the *Toldoth*. The original covered briefly the history of the Church of Jerusalem from the Commission of the Risen Christ to his Apostles down to the Final Exodus of the Nazarenes from the city, a prophetic period of about forty years.

CHAPTER XIII

THE "TOLDOTH" SUPPLEMENTS

THE *Toldoth* proper ends with chapter vi. The remaining two chapters are of no consequence from the point of view of our thesis. That is to say, they are not based on any early Christian documents. They were added by the redactor in order to bring the history down to near his own time. In this respect they are of some importance, as they assist us in determining the region in which the *Toldoth* was circulated, and the approximate date at which it was given its present form. The narrative of these chapters is highly fictitious. The writer knows of Christian affairs in a general way, and they are the affairs of the Eastern Church. He singles out two personalities in the Christian world of such prominence that every Jew must have heard of them, both living in the fifth century, and both having some contact with Jewish communities.

Nestorius (Tf. vii)

Nestorius, to whom chapter vii is devoted, seems to have been selected because of his unorthodox Christian opinions, which even in his lifetime earned him the opprobrious epithet of "Jew" from his Christian contemporaries. The Synod of Ephesus addresses a letter to him: "The Holy Synod to Nestorius the new Jew." Parkes rightly states that "there is a consistent tradition that Nestorianism owed something to Jewish influence, and we can trace the working

of this tradition in the belief which grew up that Nestorius had actually denied the existence of a divine nature in Christ, an erroneous idea, for Nestorianism was an attempt to interpret the decision of Nicaea."¹ It is into this error that the redactor of the *Toldoth* has fallen when he writes (vii, 7) : "Furthermore Nestorius said, Ye are idolators that say, Jesus is God, seeing that he was born of a woman. Only the Holy Spirit ministered through him as with the prophets."

Nestorius attacked the term *Theotokos* as applied to Mary, and he is said to have prepared a pulpit oration given by his co-presbyter Anastasius at Constantinople, which began : "Let no one call Mary the mother of God, for Mary was a human being ; and that God should be born of a human being is impossible." This was a point that interested Jews. We have elsewhere quoted the *Teaching of Jacob* (A.D. 634), where a Jewish rabbi of Acco asks, "Why do the Christians magnify Mary ? She is a daughter of David and not *Theotokos*, for Mary is a woman, daughter of Joakim, and her mother was Anna." This rabbi had been a teacher at the rabbinical college at Tiberias, where we have reason to believe the *Toldoth* originated.

It seems not unnatural, therefore, that the redactor of the *Toldoth* should have introduced Nestorius as a Christian who opposed the teaching of Paul, and the doctrine of the deity of Christ.

It is curious, however, to find in Mohammedan tradition that Paul and Nestorius have been brought together.

El-Kalbi says : The Christians followed the religion of Islam for eighty-one years after the translation of Jesus . . . until a war occurred between them and the Jews. There was a brave and bold man among the Jews

¹ *Conflict of Church and Synagogue*, pp. 301-302.

called Paul, who killed a large number of the followers of Jesus. (He became a Christian.) They therefore believed him and loved him. He then went to Jerusalem and appointed over them as his successor Nestorius, whom he taught that Jesus, Mary and God were three (in one Godhead).¹

Here Nestorius is appointed by Paul, and is not put in opposition to him as in the *Toldoth*.

Simeon Stylites (Tf. viii)

The narrative of chapter viii is essentially the story of a typical forced conversion of a prominent Jew. This is important, as forced conversions did not feature in Christian practice until the beginning of the seventh century. We thus have a slight date indication in the representation of such an incident.

The scene is laid on the Mount of Olives, on the festival of *Hosanna rabba*. This is another date indication, as it was early in the eighth century that the Palestinian rabbis instituted annual pilgrimages to the Mount of Olives on *Hosanna rabba*. Messianic prayers and hymns were used on these occasions. The hero of the story is Simeon Kepha. He was called Kepha, because he stood on the stone on which Ezekiel prophesied. He is described, after his conversion, as doing penance on a high tower until the day of his death. Now obviously this person cannot be the apostle Peter, unless the fact that he was one of the "pillar apostles" suggested an association with another famous Simeon, the monk Simeon Stylites. The latter Simeon won wide renown, and spent his days on top of a column sixty feet high. He was the first of a succession of pillar

¹ Ad-Damiri, *Hayat-al-Hayawan*, vol. ii, p. 537.

saints, who flourished from the fifth to the seventh century. The details given in *Tj.* viii, 11, answer exactly to the conditions of his strange life. He died in A.D. 460.

The humour of the connection between Simeon Kepha and Simeon Stylites is that while the former was noted for his pro-Jewish ideas, which is brought out in the narrative, the latter was antagonistic to the Jews : he protested to the Emperor Theodosius against the restoration to the Jews of confiscated synagogues.¹ There seems to be no valid alternative, however, to the proposition that the redactor has borrowed features from the life of the famous Stylite for the purposes of his story. Simeon's pillar was near Antioch, and both his locality and date answer to the indications of date which we already possess.

There are two further personal allusions in this chapter which require comment. It is said (viii, 15) that Simeon composed liturgical poems like Eleazar ben Kalir. The exact date and birthplace of this writer are something of a mystery ; but it is believed that he was born in Palestine in the latter part of the seventh century. Again, the date is to be noted. The other personality is Rabbi Nathan, the Prince of the Captivity (viii, 17). Exilarch, or Prince of the Captivity, was a title given to the head of the Jews of Babylon and the East. The institution of the Exilarchate dates back traditionally to Biblical times ; but its historical prominence was from the second century A.D. down to the beginning of the eleventh century. In the list of Exilarchs there are three Nathans, and it is probably the last who flourished at the beginning of the fifth century of whom mention is made in the *Toldoth*.

Comparing the data furnished by these two chapters we note that two centuries are brought into prominence, the

¹ Evagr. *H.E.* i, 13.

th and the eighth. Nestorius, Simeon Stylites and Athanasius the Exilarch all belong to the fifth century, while Eleazar ben Kalir, and the practice of forced conversions, come into the eighth century. We should probably not go far out, therefore, in assigning the second half of the eighth century as the date of the redaction of the *Toldoth*. The fact that the redactor is not concerned with any events prior to the fifth century, and that we must allow a substantial antiquity to the MS. which he is editing, would point to a date some time in the fourth century for the original *Toldoth*. When we come to deal specifically with the evidence determining dates, we shall find that these provisional suggestions are supported by all the evidence. Of one thing we can be certain, that both the compiler and the redactor were resident in the East. Neither of them shows any consciousness of events in the West. The history of the *Toldoth* in Europe belongs to a later period, though it is established by the quotations of Agobard in the ninth century that copies must have been brought across by Jewish travellers soon after its completion.

CHAPTER XIV

THE "TOLDOTH" MINOR

IN chapter i we made brief allusion to the fact that there exists a short Aramaic form of *Toldoth*, which we have denominated the *Toldoth Minor*. It is essential, so that there should be no loose ends, that we should discuss this document as far as we may. The text, as given by Shemtob ibn Shaprut, is as follows :

There came Pilate the governor, and Rabbi Joshua ben Perachiah, and Marinus the patriarch of the Jews, and Rabbi Judah Ganiba, and Rabbi Jochanan ben Mutana, and Jesus ben Pandera to Tiberias before Tiberius Caesar. He said to them, What is your business? (Jesus) saith unto him, I am the son of God ; I wound and I heal, and when one dieth, I whisper to him, and he lives ; and a woman that is childless I make to conceive without a male. He (Tiberius) said unto them, In this will I prove you. Come, I have a daughter who hath not seen a man ; make it that she conceive. They say unto him, Have her brought before us. He commanded the steward to have her brought. Then they whispered to her, and she conceived.

Now when the proclamation went forth concerning Jesus, his sentence was determined that he should be crucified, and he saw the cross at the fourth hour of the day. He spake words of magic, and flew and alighted on Mount Carmel. Then said Rabbi Judah Ganiba to

Rabbi Joshua ben Perachiah, I will go and fetch him. To whom he answered, Go, and make mention and pronounce the name of his Lord, that is to say the Ineffable Name. So he went and flew to fetch him. When he was about to seize him, Jesus spake words of magic and went into the cave of Elijah, and shut the door. Then came Rabbi Judah Ganiba, and said to the cave, Open, for I am the messenger of God ! It opened. Jesus thereupon took the form of a cock. Rabbi Judah seized him by the border of his sindon, and came before Rabbi Joshua and his fellows.

Very much to the same effect, except for the transformation embellishments which savour of Arabian influence, are some brief fragments of a *Toldoth* found in the Cairo Geniza.

Further evidence for this type of text is supplied by Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, in his *Epistola . . . De Judaicis Superstitionibus* (c. A.D. 826). We give Mead's rendering of the very poor Latin.¹

For in the teachings of their elders they (the Jews) read : That Jesus was a youth held in esteem by them, who had for his teacher John the Baptist ; that he had very many disciples, to one of whom he gave the name Cephas, that is Petra (Rock), because of the hardness and fulness of his understanding ; that when the people were waiting for him on the feast-day, some of the youths of his company ran to meet him, crying unto him out of honour and respect, "Hosanna, son of David" ; that at last, having been accused on many lying charges, he was cast into prison by the decree of Tiberius, because he had made his daughter (to whom he had promised the birth of a male child without contact with a man) conceive of

¹ *Did Jesus Live 100 B.C.?* pp. 290-291.

a stone ; that for this cause he was hanged on a stake as an abominable sorcerer ; whereon being smitten on the head with a rock and in this way slain, he was buried by a canal, and handed over to a certain Jew to guard ; by night, however, he was carried away by the sudden overflowing of the canal, and though he was sought for twelve moons by the order of Pilate, he could never be found ; that then Pilate made the following legal proclamation unto them : It is manifest, said he, that he has risen, as he promised, he who for envy was put to death by you, and neither in the grave nor in any other place is he found ; for this cause, therefore, I decree that ye worship him ; and he who will not do so, let him know that his lot will be in hell.

Agobard is evidently giving a garbled account of the various *Toldoth* tales current among the Jews in his diocese. Huldreich's version offers some parallels to the concluding lines of this quotation. It rather looks, however, as if the Jewish legends have taken on a Christian colouring in the Archbishop's mind from his acquaintance with Christian apocrypha.

Examining these remains of the *Toldoth Minor* it is manifest that it is a sectional narrative dealing with the Passion akin to the numerous Christian Passion Gospels. It is therefore of little historical importance. If we take Shemtob's text as a basis we can identify a number of the legendary elements which belong to the Pilate-Tiberius cycle.

The story opens with a mixed deputation to the Emperor Tiberius, which includes the Jewish Patriarch, Pilate and Jesus, not to mention Judas. Jesus claims to have the art of healing by whispering to the sufferer. According to Christian legend Tiberius hears from Pilate about the cures

worked by Jesus, and himself suffering from a disease desires to be healed. Jesus, unfortunately, has already been crucified ; but the woman Veronica is found, who has a portrait of Jesus, and on looking at this the Emperor is immediately cured.

On the Jewish side there are many stories of rabbis doing miracles before the Roman Emperor, and healing by whispering is specifically mentioned as a practice employed by Jewish Christians both in the Talmud, and by Epiphanius.¹ The Emperor's daughter is also mentioned in the Talmud. The making of the girl to conceive without the agency of a man is of course a gibe at the virgin birth story.

The second paragraph of the text dealing with the crucifixion seems to reflect in its beginning the passage in the Talmud (*b. Sanh.* 43a), which speaks of the proclamation of the sentence passed on Jesus ; but as we have noted elsewhere there is also a connection with the *Nicodemus* apocryphon. For the rest, the cave in the mountain element, the matter is kindred to that which we find in the *Acts of John* and Islamic tradition (see above pp. 171-172). It should be noted, however, that according to Agobard the execution of Jesus was decreed by Tiberius because, having promised the Emperor's daughter a male child, he had made her conceive of a stone. Lukyn Williams remarks on this passage that it seems to point back to the commonly used proof-text in *Dan.* ii, 34, of Christ as the Stone cut out of the mountain without hands.²

As to the transformation of Jesus into a cock, we are reminded of the story of the Princess and the Jinn in the *Arabian Nights*. We may refer, however, to the Coptic legend that a dish containing a cock was set before Jesus at a

¹ Schonfield, *History of Jewish Christianity*, pp. 79-80.

² *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 352.

banquet. Matthias, the host, informs him that when he was killing it the Jews had said, "The blood of your master shall be shed like that of the cock." Jesus answers, that they had said truly, and brings the cock to life. The Abyssinian Church also possessed an Ethiopic *Book of the Cock* in which a somewhat similar story was told. But in this version the resurrected fowl, at the request of Jesus, follows Judas and learns the plans of the betrayal.¹ For many centuries, due to a name-play, Jews have slaughtered a cock on the eve of the High Festivals as a vicarious sacrifice.

The canal story in our quotation from Agobard really belongs to the *Toldoth* proper ; but there is no reason why it may not also have found a place in the *Toldoth Minor*. It occurs in Huldreich's text. We are rather suspicious of the genuineness of the closing statements, which have too strong a Christian apocryphal colouring. We cannot find any trace of a legend in which Pilate orders a search to be made for the body of Jesus ; but in *Nicodemus* there is an account of the Sanhedrin instituting such a search : " And they sent into all the coasts and sought Jesus and found him not."² The conclusion is that Jesus is truly risen from the dead and ascended to heaven.

We believe that we have now given sufficient attention to the *Toldoth Minor* to satisfy ourselves of its highly legendary character. The period from the fifth century to the eighth was rich in the manufacture of Christian apocrypha, especially of circumstantial Passion Gospels. The uninstructed masses fed on these tales, and it would not be in the least surprising for Jews to concoct their own version. We have only to think of the popularity of such a work as the *Golden*

¹ James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 150.

² *AP.* xv.

Legend of Jacques de Voragine, in which appear certain stories similar to those in the *Toldoth Minor*. We are thus enabled to dismiss this material as not pertinent to our main inquiry, and to concentrate on the primary document.

CHAPTER XV

THE DATE OF THE "TOLDOTH"

Our investigation has now reached the stage where we may suitably approach the crucial question of date. It must be reasonably demonstrated that the *Toldoth* was written originally at such a time and under such circumstances that the probabilities are all in favour of the *Gospel of the Hebrews* having been its source text. We have already seen the necessity for distinguishing between the original compiler and the redactor, and no scholar familiar with the methods of determining the date of ancient documents, especially of those which have only been preserved in late copies, can take exception to such a distinction. Certain indications of the date both of the compiler and the redactor have emerged naturally in the course of our inquiry, and it will be our immediate task to gather up and amplify such indications.

The External Evidence

With such a privately circulated work as the *Toldoth* the difficulty of discovering external witnesses is very formidable. The writing of it was a Jewish domestic affair. It was not until the Church became powerful enough to persecute the Jews and force them into involuntary adherence to Christianity that it leaked out that a blasphemous life of Jesus was in their possession. The *terminus ad quem* at least is clear. The references of Agobard and Amulo settle that the *Toldoth* had reached Europe by the beginning of the

ninth century. Under Charlemagne circumstances were particularly favourable for the importation of such a document. "From the ports of Marseilles and Narbonne their (the Jewish owned) vessels kept up a constant communication with the East. In Narbonne the Jews were so flourishing that, of the two prefects, or mayors of the city, one was always a Jew ; and the most regular and stately part of the city of Lyons (Agobard's see) was the Jewish quarter."¹ Among the curiosities of the Orient brought by Jewish travellers surely there was no stranger or more dangerous merchandise than our *Toldoth*.

To obtain any kind of *terminus a quo* we have to make use of sundry hints and allusions, which are not by any means satisfactory. One of the most persistent factors is that which concerns the Genealogy of Jesus. We have found it in the *Dialogue of Andronicus of Constantinople*, where mention is made of a book in the possession of a Jew of Macedonia in which was stated that Mary "was a woman of the race of David, daughter of Anna and Joachim who was the son of Panther." Much earlier (c. A.D. 634) the *Teaching of Jacob* introduces a Jew of Ptolemais to the same effect on the authority of a "tradition of us Jews in Tiberias." Epiphanius, in the late fourth century, brings Panther into the genealogy of Joseph, and Jerome, in his *Epistle to Titus* (A.D. 375), writes : "I heard formerly concerning the Hebrews . . . at Rome . . . that they bring into question the Genealogies (*Toldoth*) of Christ." The Bokharan text of the *Toldoth* describes Mary as "the daughter of Hannah of the land of Galilee."

The effect of all this is that we have a consistent tradition going back a thousand years, from the fourteenth to the fourth century, dealing with the *Toldoth Yeshu* (Genealogy of

¹ Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, Vol. II, p. 276.

Jesus). But we can only use this tradition as very slight contributory evidence for the existence of the *Toldoth*, as the genealogy need not necessarily imply more than a short sectional treatise. It could equally be argued that the existence of the Pandera-Panther tradition already at the end of the second century in Celsus' *True Discourse* might mean that our document was available at so early a date. This is in the highest degree improbable. Suidas informs us on the authority of Theodosius, a Byzantine Jew, that the Genealogical Roll of Jesus was preserved at Tiberias, and we must perforce content ourselves with the knowledge that at least in name a *Toldoth Yeshu* in written form was in existence in Palestine in the fifth century, and perhaps earlier.

But if the external evidence is so slender and unsatisfactory from one point of view, it does furnish us with a clue that is worth following up. If the genealogy of Jesus was preserved at Tiberias, and the *Teaching of Jacob* discusses it as "a tradition of us Jews of Tiberias"; then surely we may look for some enlightenment to that ancient and noted seat of Jewish learning. There would be the most likely place for the production of such a work as the *Toldoth*. Now the college at Tiberias only came into prominence about the middle of the third century, and it continued to be distinguished until nearly two centuries later. After this its influence gradually waned, and by the eighth century the city was almost abandoned by Jews. The heyday of its literary activity was in the fourth and the early part of the fifth century, when also the Nazarene communities were still flourishing.

Let us see how far it is possible to develop the argument in favour of the late fourth century at Tiberias as the time and place for the composition of the original *Toldoth*.

The Nazarenes were known in Tiberias, for it is mentioned in the Palestinean Talmud, completed at Tiberias early in the fifth century, that a grandson of R. Joshua ben Levi was cured of something stuck in his throat by a man who whispered to him in the name of Jeshu Pandera.¹ Travers Herford suggests on good grounds that this incident happened at Tiberias, for the father of this grandson had married into the family of the Patriarch Judah II, and Tiberias was the latter's place of residence.² We have seen how in the *Toldoth Minor* the Jewish Patriarch is introduced into the company of Jesus, and there is also a reference to cures by whispering. Again the scene is laid in Tiberias. Epiphanius tells the story of Joseph of Tiberias, a convert to Christianity, who was one of the assessors of the rabbinical college of the Patriarch Judah III, grandson of Judah II, early in the fourth century. Joseph related to Epiphanius how before his conversion, when he was dangerously ill, one of the elders, a student of the Law, whispered in his ear : " Believe that Jesus the son of God (*sic*) was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and that he will come again to judge the living and the dead." The same Joseph informed Epiphanius that he had witnessed the deathbed confession of faith in Christ of Judah's son Hillel II (A.D. 330-365), and that through the joints of the door he had seen him receive the sacrament from the Bishop of Tiberias, who had attended him as physician. After the Patriarch's death he found in a secret receptacle Hebrew copies of the Gospels of *Matthew* and *John*, and the *Acts of the Apostles*. Just before this, Epiphanius has stated that these same three works in Hebrew were to be found in the Jewish treasury at Tiberias, kept there secretly, as he had been told by Jewish converts

¹ *Shabb*, 14b.

² *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, pp. 108-109.

to Christianity, who had seen and read them, and thereby come to believe in Christ.¹

Epiphanius, of course, writes from the point of view of an orthodox churchman, and it is well-known that he is frequently confused in the information which he gives. He is therefore quite liable to have misunderstood or misinterpreted what he was told. We know nothing from any other source to suggest that Hebrew translations of any of our canonical books had been made at this early date. And why should these three be specially selected? *Matthew* we can understand, but not *John* and the *Acts*. No doubt, what Epiphanius was really told, or should have been told, was that the Jewish rabbinate at Tiberias kept secretly Christian documents in Hebrew, which included a Gospel in the name of Matthew, an Acts of the Apostles, and another work in the name of John. These were Nazarene writings and all three can be identified. The Hebrew Matthew is our *Gospel of the Hebrews*. It is identified by the "Matthai" reference in *Sanhedrin* 43a, and by the singling out of Matthew among the apostles as "thee Matthew" in the actual text of the Hebrew Gospel (see above p. 179). In the same way the *Gospel of Peter* has been identified by the reference in it to "I, Simon Peter." Of the second work we have the witness of Epiphanius, who states that the Jewish Christians "have other Acts which they call 'of the Apostles'." The third book in the name of John is the Hebrew original of our Apocalypse. It is established that it was known to the Jews, for Huldreich's version of the *Toldoth* speaks of the *Book of Jochanan*, which contained mysteries, including a beast with seven heads, and attributes its composition to Simon ben Kalpus (Simeon the son of Cleophas).

¹ *Panar.* xxx, 3-6.

The possession of the three volumes of Nazarene scriptures by the Jewish scholars of Tiberias is the more likely when we remember that the Jewish Christians were a very flourishing body in the fourth century, as is admitted by Epiphanius and Jerome, having numerous communities in Beroea (Aleppo), and elsewhere throughout Coele-Syria, the Decapolis, Batanaea and Auranitis.¹ These communities used *Hebrews* and their other books, and paid no regard to the canonical New Testament of the Nicene Church. Many rabbinical students came to read these works, as Epiphanius testifies, and through reading them to accept Jesus as the Messiah.

The propaganda of the Nazarenes among their non-Christian brethren, and the circulation of their Gospel with its appended Acts, provides a strong justification for the retaliatory writing of the *Toldoth* parody. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine a time and conditions more suitable for the production of such a work than the late fourth century at Tiberias. Krauss has reached the same conclusion for the composition of what he happily calls the *Ur-Toldoth*.²

We believe that the reasoning we have used is sound in default of any exact data, and we shall find that the more adequate internal evidence gives full support to our hypothesis.

The Internal Evidence

One of the reasons why the true character of the *Toldoth* has not been generally recognized, and its origin never previously determined, is that confident in its late date and utter worthlessness historically scholars have not been concerned to apply to the text the same canons of literary criticism as they are at such pains to apply to more obviously

¹ *Panar.* xxix, 7.

² *LJQ*, pp. 245-248.

hopeful material. It is only when we assume on no fantastic grounds that the greater part of the *Toldoth* is much older than is commonly supposed, and that it is of vital importance as an index to the contents of the lost *Gospel of the Hebrews*, that it becomes essential to distinguish in it between early and late matter.

When we examine the text critically the hand of a redactor becomes at once apparent. We see it in the frequent comments and explanations, i.e., in i, 21, i, 24, i, 40, ii, 2, iii, 31, iii, 36, iv, 24, vi, 9. We see it also in the supplements like chapters vii and viii, and in interpolations based on the Talmud such as i, 23-25 and iv, 12-15. It is possible that more than one editor has been at work between the fifth and the eighth century, the latest date *vide* Amulo at which we can establish a sound text. Subsequently a variety of *Toldoth* forms came into circulation in Europe fancifully embellished according to the whim of the copyist. With these we are not concerned.

It is satisfactory that we can obtain a comparatively pure text by careful comparison of several extant versions covering long passages, and the variant readings which it has been necessary to include are surprisingly few.

The language, which we may suppose was the language of the original, is Hebrew of the mishnaic period, far from classical and intermixed with loan words from Greek and Aramaic.

The length of the *Ur-Toldoth*, that is our text down to the end of chapter vi, is approximately one seventh of the *Gospel of Matthew*, and one sixth of *Hebrews*. We can perhaps learn something about the original manuscript from the defective condition of the last part of chapter vi. This rather suggests two things, first, that the MS. must have had an antiquity of several hundred years before the

date of the redactor, who cannot have lived later than the eighth century, for the scroll to become worn at the end, and second, that like the *Gospel of Mark*, the end of which suffered similarly, the document cannot have had a wide circulation for a considerable period, being limited during this time to a single MS. which probably reposed in the library of the college at Tiberias.

In the course of our comparisons with early Christian, Jewish and Islamic literature we have found that in every case our document reflects very ancient ideas and traditions, which it would be most unlikely to discover in a late mediæval composition. There are no suspicions of Western contacts: the work is wholly Eastern in character. Furthermore, there are traces in Christian literature of definite replies to *Toldoth* positions. This is most noticeable in the Passion and Resurrection narratives.

We have purposely reserved until now the consideration of a number of statements which have a bearing on the date. We may therefore take these in order.

i, 20. "*So he went away to Babylon.*" In the third and fourth centuries, when there were rival academies in Palestine and Babylon, it was not infrequent, so we learn from the Talmud, for a disgruntled Palestinian rabbi to go off to the other seats of learning at Sura or Pumbeditha. John therefore behaves like a young rabbi.

i, 21b. "*After his despicableness was revealed they called him Jesu.*" Jesu is actually the north-Palestinean contraction of the Hebrew Jeshua, where the letter *ayin* was not sounded. Later Jewish polemicists suggested that the three letters of the name stood for the initials of the imprecation *Yimmach Shemoh Vezichronoh* (may his name and his memory perish). We have no hesitation in marking this comment as an obvious interpolation.

i, 22. "*Enlightened in the Halacha . . . and the Talmud.*" This is another interpolated comment, proving that the redactor cannot have written before the sixth century. We shall notice that he constantly betrays his rabbinical training.

i, 23-25. This section is adapted from a well-known passage in the late Talmudic tractate *Kallah* 18b (c. A.D. 500). It is doubtful whether the original discussion had anything to do with Jesus. The interpolations in i, 34 and 40 are due to this adaptation.

i, 40. "*He went forth and fled to Jerusalem.*" Here we should note the variant reading in B. which makes Jesus flee from Tiberias.

ii, 1. "*Now the rule of all Israel was in the hand of a woman.*" The woman, called Queen Helene, whose name has already been explained, represents the authority, actual or delegated, of Rome. There is an important parallel in the *Sibylline Oracles* (Bk. III, 75), where we find, "Then shall the world be ruled beneath a woman's hand, and obey her in all things" (cf. *Rev.* xvii, 3). We believe that Herod the tetrarch was the name that stood in the source.

ii, 2-9. The story of the *Eben-Shetiyah*, the Foundation Stone of the World, is an ancient Jewish legend dating back at least to the third century A.D. According to the Talmud and Midrashim it was situated in the Temple immediately in front of the Ark in the Holy of Holies. It is said also that the Ark contained the Ineffable Name. In the synagogues, when the ark containing the scrolls of the Law represented the original Ark in the Temple, twin guardian lions with other messianic symbols are shown in front of it in the oldest illustrations found in the Roman catacombs.¹

¹ Garucchi, *Arte Christiana*.

This legendary element in the *Toldoth*, where W. correctly reads lions instead of dogs, is therefore no evidence of late date (see the discussion above, p. 120).

iii, 31. " *And for this deed they weep bitterly on their night.*" This appears to refer to an early practice in the Eastern Church. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (Bk. V, 15-17) the Christians are enjoined on the Saturday night before Easter Sunday "to fast and wail over the Jews, because on the day of their feast they crucified Christ."

iii, 36. The reading "Tiberias" should again be noted, to which B. adds "the city wherein is the great college."

iv, 12-15. Interpolated from *Sanh.* 43a.

iv, 23-24. The use of the Carob tree as the wood on which Jesus was hanged presents considerable difficulties. It may be traced out, however, in this way. The *Sibylline Oracles* refer cryptically to Jesus as "the best of the Hebrews, who stretched forth his hands upon the fruitful tree" (Bk. V, 256). Biblical references to "the fruitful tree" were used at a very early date as symbolic of the cross (e.g., *Psalms* i, 3, *Joel* ii, 22. Cf. *Ep. Barn.* xi, Justin, *Dial.* lxxxvi, Ignat. *Ep. ad Smyrn.* i, Tert. *Adv. Jud.* xiii). In the Nazarene midrashim the wood of the cross was held to be a branch of the Tree of Knowledge in Eden, which had been passed from hand to hand in the long course of Israelitish history until Joseph the father of Jesus left it to his son James, from whom Judas stole it and gave it to the Jews when they lacked wood for the crucifixion (*Book of the Bee*, xxx). Finally, we learn from the *Book of Enoch* (xxxii, 3-4) that the Tree of Knowledge "is like the Carob tree: its fruit is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful: the fragrance of the tree goes forth and penetrates afar." The Jewish midrashim also employ the symbol of the carob: "Israel needs carob-pods to make him repent." They make a

play on the word sword (*chereb*) in *Isaiah* i, 20, reading instead carob (*charub*), so that the text would run : " If ye refuse and rebel, carob-pods shall ye eat " (*Lev. R.* xxxv). These various references, therefore, would lead us to infer that the matter of this passage in the *Toldoth* is not entirely invented, but is partly based on early Nazarene exegesis which to some extent must have been in evidence in the source text.

v, 15. " *And the wise men and all the land of Israel fled from place to place because of the great fear.*" This editorial expansion may be due to a Talmudic passage *Sanh.* 97a, where R. Judah says : " In the generation when the Son of David cometh, . . . Galilee shall be devastated . . . and the inhabitants of the land shall wander from city to city, and shall not obtain pity." But compare *Matt.* x, 23.

v, 16. " *Then went forth one of them, an elder whose name was Rabbi Tanchuma.*" If by R. Tanchuma an historical personage is intended it can only be R. Tanchuma bar Abba, who lived in Palestine in the fourth century. He is known to have had frequent intercourse with Christians, and it is possible that he has been introduced for that reason. It is more likely, however, that the name is due to an haggadic interpretation based on *Isaiah* lxvi, 13, " In Jerusalem shall ye be comforted (*T'nuchamu*). " The context continues : " And when ye see this, your heart shall rejoice . . . and the hand of the Lord shall be known toward his servants, and his indignation toward his enemies." From the point of view of the writer of the *Toldoth* the sentiment exactly covers the circumstances which he is describing.

v, 21. " *They bound cords to the feet of Jesus, and dragged him round the streets of Jerusalem.*" Sozomen relates in his *Ecclesiastical History* (Bk. V, xxi) that in the reign of the Emperor Julian (A.D. 362) there was a celebrated statue of

Christ at Paneas (Caesarea Philippi), which was taken down by the Pagans " and dragged round the city and mutilated." If this incident was familiar to the Jews, as is likely, it affords further evidence for the compilation of the *Toldoth* in the fourth century in Palestine.

vi, 16. Here there is another reference to Tiberias.

From the foregoing comments it will be seen that the date of the *Toldoth*, as indicated by the internal evidence, depends largely on the view that is taken of the question of later editorial additions. We have endeavoured not to evade analysis of any difficult passage or reference, and have tried to find an honest answer to each problem, so that the reader will have all the material facts on which to base a judgment. Any allusions which might bear even remotely on the date have been traced out as far as seemed relevant, and in some cases owing to the special interest of the subject further than was absolutely necessary. If we are to set on one side the greater part of the laborious research represented by the preceding chapters and regard the work as a unity, it is obvious that the eighth century is the date that must be assigned to it ; for if every element in the *Toldoth* has to be accounted for, it is not until the beginning of that century that we can get clear of persons and institutions that find a place in the document as a whole. This would bring the book to within half a century or thereabouts of the definite references of Agobard and Amulo in Lyons, a locality far removed from the environment which the book reflects.

In our opinion, however, the case for one or more redactors is proved by a variety of circumstances. We cannot fail to recognize the supplementary character of chapters vii and viii, while the explanatory clauses to which we have already referred again suggest the editorial hand.

It is to the editor that we must credit the interpolations from the Talmud, as also the references to late personalities.

As to locality, the internal evidence fully supports the argument that the work emanated from Tiberias.

When we omit all the material shown within square brackets in our translation of the text we are presented with a sufficient document consisting of two parts, a Gospel and an Acts of the Apostles, in which are no ideas not current before the end of the third century. But we may go further than this. We have established from Celsus and the Rabbinical Literature that from the second century to the fourth there was being built up on the Jewish side a portrait of Jesus designed to combat evangelical propaganda. This the compiler of the *Toldoth* has utilized at appropriate points in his narrative where it did not do too much violence to his source. It now seems clear, what had hitherto been suspected, that the Jews retained little if any recollection of Jesus, and consequently that their information was based on Jewish Christian tradition. We have established from early Christian remains that specifically Jewish Christian doctrines and traditions are reflected in the *Toldoth* at every place where this can be tested.

If the author of the *Toldoth* lived in the eighth century or later there would be no object in his using this Nazarene material, even if it was still accessible, if the Nazarene propaganda was no longer an active force and his generation of Jews had to oppose a Church with a very different dogmatic outlook. Indeed, we are well aware from the writings of later Jewish apologists that they definitely adapted their arguments to the Christian beliefs of their day, and they are very different to those which appear in the *Toldoth*. Above all, there is the evidence which we have emphasized continually that the writer of the *Ur-Toldoth*, as Krauss suitably

denominates it, used a single written source, which we have hypothetically suggested was the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. It is almost certain that he is not drawing on our canonical Gospels, even though he has much in common with them. His violent breaking away from them is more radical than his agreements. When he differs in his narrative, we can usually find support for his statements in apocryphal literature ; but even there we find no slavish dependence. It is difficult to escape from the view that he is utilizing a complete Gospel of a strongly Jewish Christian character; it is specially significant that the *Toldoth* and Justin agree verbally in several cases against the canonical Gospels.

The internal evidence thus endorses the external evidence, and indicates a date for the *Ur-Toldoth* as about the end of the fourth century, when the Nazarenes were still a force to be reckoned with by orthodox Jews, and when their peculiar traditions had not been largely obliterated by the inroads of Islam and the anti-heretical policy of the post-Nicene Church.

Finally, we would stress again the unique character of the *Toldoth* as a satirical Gospel. It is more than doubtful whether Jewish opposition to Jesus at any late date would have dared to take this drastic form. If the *Toldoth* had not already been in existence, we do not believe that any mediæval apologist would have created it. In its attitude to Christianity it can only be compared to Celsus' *True Discourse* and Lucian of Samosata's *De Morte Peregrini*, pagan satires both written towards the end of the second century. In deciding on a Gospel parody as the most effective method of discrediting the Christian faith the author definitely reflects the spirit of his age ; it is the early days of the Eastern Roman Empire.

CHAPTER XVI

THE GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS

THE *Gospel of the Hebrews* provides one of the most difficult problems in Christian origins research. As we have already shown in our introduction, it is held by scholars that there were two, or even three, different Gospel texts in use by Jewish Christians, which varied according to the doctrinal standpoint of the community which adhered to them. All of these texts were distinguished by strong haggadic elements. We have to understand what this means. Haggadah is the technical Jewish term for the oral exegesis of the Scriptures first instituted by the Scribes. It involved the employment of proverb, parable and legend, by which the inner truth was brought to light and exhibited. Jesus himself was a haggadist and advocated the method (*Matt.* xiii, 51-52). The Targums on the Pentateuch, and the later ones on the Prophets and Hagiographa, are haggadic. Subsequently the term has been used of all legendary embellishments of the Scriptures, and in a Christian sense of similar matter in the Gospels.

When we speak of the strong haggadic character of *Hebrews* in any of its forms, we do not necessarily imply a late date, but rather this definite Jewish quality in the method of exegesis. The Pauline school of thought was opposed to the method (1 *Tim.* iv, 4 ; *Tit.* i, 14).

It is necessary to devote some space to this aspect, because it lies at the root of the problem of Gospel origins, which

equally involves *Hebrews* and the Synoptics. We are not justified in discussing the nature of *Hebrews*, and in particular its relationship to Matthew's Gospel, until we have thrown some light on this very vital question. Indeed, we believe that this less usual approach to the subject will be definitely helpful and constructive, and remove any necessity for directly adverse criticism of the conclusions of other scholars.

It is now generally agreed that the teaching and acts of Jesus were first transmitted orally, and that the first written Christian document was probably a compend of Messianic proof-texts from the Old Testament. In course of time an ordered arrangement of these Messianic texts, applied to Jesus, was adopted to follow the main outlines of his career as it was remembered. The situation arose quite naturally out of the demands of gospel preaching. It was incumbent upon the apostles to establish to the satisfaction of Jewish audiences that Jesus was the Messiah according to the Scriptures, and that all that had befallen him was according to the Scriptures (cf. *Acts* iii, 18, vii, 52, x, 43, xiii, 32-33, xxvi, 22-23). Texts were massed most heavily at the points where, from a Jewish point of view, the actual life of the Messiah was most open to attack, namely in connection with his birth and origin, his endowment with power, and his death and resurrection. This is the reason why our Gospels introduce proof-texts mainly at these points. The *Toldoth* exhibits the same characteristic.

As preachers multiplied, who had no first-hand knowledge of the life of Christ, the reduction of the essential oracles to writing became an absolute necessity. Tradition assigns this work to Matthew. According to Papias (c. ²A.D. 140), "Matthew compiled the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each interpreted him as he was able."

It is important to notice that, as this compilation of the Old Testament oracles relating to Christ was set down in Hebrew, it was intended as an armoury for preachers to Jews. Christians, both Jewish and Gentile, would be interested in it. But for preaching to unconverted Gentiles a more philosophic compilation of sayings of Jesus such as we find in the Oxyrhynchus papyri would no doubt be preferred. The approach was different.

When, at some time subsequent to the original compilation, an ordered arrangement (syntax) of selected oracles was made and related to the life and teaching of Jesus the result must have been what we may call an *Ur-Hebrews*, an embryonic Gospel in the Hebrew language in which the works of Christ explained the Old Testament passages cited. Having regard to a similar development in contemporary Jewish literature, the exegesis would be both haggadic and, as in the Sermon on the Mount, halachic. To quote an example of this Christian haggadah not now contained in our canonical Gospels. Justin Martyr informs us that :

The prophecy, "binding his foal to the vine, and washing his robe in the blood of the grape" (*Gen. xlix, 10*), was a significant symbol of the things that were to happen to Christ, and of what he was to do. For the foal of an ass stood bound to a vine at the entrance of a village, and he ordered his acquaintances to bring it to him then ; and when it was brought, he mounted and sat upon it, and entered Jerusalem.¹

Justin was in close contact with the Jewish Christians, and must have derived many of his haggadic statements from them, or from a Greek version of the testimonies. Papias,

¹ *I. Apol. xxxii.*

himself, on the basis of such a testimony book, composed a work in five parts entitled *An Exposition of the Oracles (Relating to) the Lord*, consisting of the traditions of the Elders, or hearers of personal disciples of Christ. This also was "arranged in order with the interpretations," and there is evidence that the testimonies in their second stage were divided into five books, which structure still remains discernible in Matthew's Gospel.

On the other hand Papias is witness to another type of Gospel development, due to the records of Mark, who "having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately, but without arrangement, as many things as he related either said or done by Christ . . . and not as making an ordered arrangement of the oracles relating to the Lord." This development was largely divorced from the Jewish process, and produced a Greek type of construction which Justin rightly calls *Memorabilia*, or Memoirs. As prophetic fulfilment had not to be an important feature of this type of Gospel, the haggadic element was not nearly so much in evidence (e.g., cf. *Matt.* xxvii, 50-53 with *Mark* xv, 38).

It is essential to note that Papias does not mean that Mark wrote out of chronological order as regards the details of the life of Christ ; but only that he did not follow the order of the testimonies.

Thus we can see how there would grow up two types of Gospel, which we may call the Matthaean (or Hebrew) and the Markan (or Greek). We have the fullest development of the first type in *Hebrews* and of the second type in canonical *Mark*. If we understand the introduction to canonical *Luke* correctly, the author's intention was to accommodate the Testimony Gospel to the narrative style of the Memoir Gospel, which means in result, if we do not take this too rigidly, that where Luke changes the order of Mark, or

substitutes a different form of story for that contained in *Mark*, or includes matter not in *Mark*, that in these cases he is following a Testimony type of Gospel in order and material. The order and non-Markan matter of *Luke* thus affords a clue to the contents of *Hebrews*.

Before we proceed further we may give a few examples. *Hebrews* states that John the Baptist "was said to be of the family of Aaron the priest, son of Zecharias and Elizabeth." Now, in the canonical Gospels it is only *Luke* (i, 5) who gives the parentage of John, and in practically the same terms.

<i>Hebrews</i>	<i>Luke</i>
It came to pass in the days of Herod the king of Judaea, there came one John by name baptizing a baptism of repentance in the river Jordan ; who was said to be of the lineage of Aaron the priest, son of Zacharias and Elizabeth	It came to pass in the days of Herod, king of Judaea, there was one a priest Zacharias by name, of the course of Abia ; and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron also, and her name was Elizabeth

Again, *Hebrews* says that Jesus "was about thirty years of age" (ὥς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα), while *Luke* has "being about thirty years of age" (ὥς εἰ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα). None of the other Gospels mentions the age of Jesus.

Luke viii, 20, agrees verbally with *Hebrews* in the saying "Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without" except that the latter has the Hebraic introductory "Behold." *Mark* and *Matthew* both give different readings.

Finally, another saying peculiar to *Luke* is verbally identical with *Hebrews*, except for two words interpolated in late heretical copies of the text of the latter, which are italicized. "Have I desired with desire to eat *the flesh* of the Passover with you ?" (Cf. *Luke* xxii, 15). *Hebrews*, of course, has changed the statement into a question, and added "the flesh" because of Ebionite vegetarianism. *Mark* and *Matthew* offer no parallels.

We shall not pursue this matter further except to point out that our comparisons between *Luke* and the *Toldoth* (see above pp. 68-70) exhibit exactly the same kind of phenomenon, and therefore we can check the unknown contents of *Hebrews* by the coincidences between the *Toldoth* and *Luke*.

With canonical *Matthew* the opposite course to *Luke* has been followed. The Memoir Gospel has been accommodated to the Testimony Gospel. Matthew has borrowed large sections of *Mark* and inserted them into the Testimony Gospel, and has also frequently changed the language of the Testimony Gospel to agree with Mark. Matthew, however, has retained the five-book structure of the Testimony Gospel in preference to the Memoir structure: he has also retained more of the prophetic testimonies themselves.

Without claiming that we have now shortly and summarily solved the Synoptic problem, we may yet say that we have indicated the direction in which we believe the solution to lie, and that axiomatically we may broadly describe Luke as having Markanized *Hebrews* and Matthew as having *Hebraized* Mark.

We return now to the development of the Hebrew Gospel itself. We can trace three stages in its growth. (1) The Book of Testimonies, (2) The Testimonies with the Interpretations (first oral then written), and (3) The completed Gospel.

As we have seen, the compilation of the Testimony Book is traditionally attributed to Matthew. It was almost certainly in existence by the middle of the first century, for Rendel Harris has shown that its use can be traced in the Pauline and Petrine Epistles. At first "everyone interpreted the testimonies as he was able." We do not under-

stand this to mean translated them from Hebrew into other languages, but applied them to what he knew of the things said and done by Christ. The second stage is represented by the writing down in conjunction with the testimonies, or a selection of them, of certain discourses and incidents in the life of Christ according to apostolic tradition in a kind of authorized version sponsored by the Church of Jerusalem. This little work now requires our attention.

There is a probable reference to it in the fifth century *Acts of Barnabas*, where it is described as "a Book of the Word of God, with a narrative of the miracles and doctrines." The same authority says that the book was written in Hebrew, and given by Matthew to Barnabas when he was setting forth on his missionary journeys. *Barnabas'* description indicates a work exactly in the form suggested. The Word of God (1 *Peter* i) is the sure word of the prophetic scriptures "which by the gospel is preached unto you," while the narrative of miracles and doctrines forms the exegesis of the former in terms of the sayings and acts of the Messiah Jesus, the subject of prophecy. Eusebius confirms the time at which the book was written, informing us that by tradition it was at the beginning of the Church's widespread missionary activity, between A.D. 50 and 60.¹

The original compilation having been undertaken by Matthew, his name continued to be associated with the work in its second and third stages, though this does not mean that during the first century it was called "according to Matthew," or anything like that. Certainly in its final form Matthew was singled out among the apostles as "thee Matthew," but in the second stage it reflected the whole body of apostolic reminiscence, and so got the alternative title of the *Gospel of the Twelve* or of the *Apostles*. Among

¹ H.E. Bk. III, xxiv.

its Jewish readers it would no doubt take its name according to Jewish usage from the opening words, but we do not know if this was "I, Matthew" as indicated by *Sanh.* 43a, or *Sepher Toldoth Jeshu* (The Book of the Generations of Jesus) from the genealogy. Julius Africanus mentions a *Book of the Days*, from which the relatives of Jesus expounded the genealogy.¹ This probably means a book of Chronicles (*Dibrei HaYamim*) as our Biblical *Book of Chronicles* was titled. We must not forget, however, that Epiphanius distinctly states that *Hebrews* commenced with the words "It came to pass in the days of Herod the King of Judaea." If to this beginning the Genealogy of Jesus was prefixed it would account for the name of our *Toldoth*; for Epiphanius says that he does not know whether the Genealogy had been cut away from the Ebionite copies.

The Fivefold Gospel

The passage in tractate *Sanhedrin*, which we have continually mentioned, seems to indicate that the testimonies relating to Jesus were arranged in five books, after the manner of the Pentateuch, which also begins genealogically (*Gen.* ii, 4), and we have now to bring forward evidence relating to this aspect. First of all we have the fact that Papias' *Exposition of the Oracles* was a work arranged in five books. It was the first real Christian Midrash, containing both haggadic and halachic matter derived from the oral testimony of the Elders, the hearers of the disciples of the Lord, used in exegesis of the Old Testament testimonies. The work is lost; but among the few references to and quotations from it we have material from three out of the five books, Bks. I, II and IV. Do these furnish us with any clues to the grouping of the material?

¹ *Ep. ad Arist.* v.

In Book I Papias, among other things, deals with the hypothesis that "those who practice guilelessness before God are called children (in the Scriptures)."¹ This may suggest that the general topic of the book was connected with the birth and childhood of Jesus.

In Book II mention is made that James and John, the sons of Zebedee, were killed by the Jews.² The argument of this book may have had to do with enmity shown towards Jesus and his disciples (cf. *Matt.* x, 16-22).

In Book IV the delights of the coming kingdom are mentioned, and also the terrible fate of Judas Iscariot.³ The argument of the book may then have had to do with the Last Supper and Betrayal.

We could not stress these conjectures, were it not that Justin Martyr in his *First Apology* gives some support to our proposition. He asks why Christians should accept Jesus "unless we had found testimonies concerning him published before he came" (liii). Prior to this (xxxi) he has described the Jewish prophets, and told how their predictions became available to the Greek-speaking world through the LXX translation. He then goes on to say :

In these books, then, of the prophets we found Jesus our Christ foretold as coming, born of a virgin, growing up to man's estate, and healing every disease and every sickness, and raising the dead, and being hated, and unrecognized, and crucified, and dying, and rising again, and ascending into heaven, and being, and being called, the Son of God. We find it also predicted that certain persons should be sent by him into every nation to publish these things, and that rather among the Gentiles (than

¹ *Maximi Scholia in Lib. de Cael. Hier.*

² Philippus of Side (?) *Hist. Christ.* ; Georgius Hamartolus, *Chron.*

³ *Iren. Haer.* V, xxxiii, 3-4 ; Appol. *Cat. in Acta SS. Apost.* ; *Æcum. Comm. in Acta.*

among the Jews) men should believe on him. And he was predicted before he appeared, first 5,000 years before, and again 3,000, then 2,000, then 1,000, and yet again 800 ; for in the succession of generations prophets after prophets arose.

What we notice first in this passage is that we have the heads of a Gospel concluding with an Acts. Then we notice Justin's interest in the number five. The first prediction was 5,000 years before Christ, and prophecies were made at five different intervals of time. When we examine the subjects of the predictions we find that they arrange themselves conveniently into five groups with a prologue and epilogue.

Prologue. That the Christ was to come.

1. That he should be born of a virgin and grow to manhood.

2. That he should heal the sick and raise the dead.

3. That he should be hated and unrecognized.

4. That he should be crucified, die and rise again.

5. That he should ascend to heaven, and be called Son of God.

Epilogue. That he should send forth his apostles to all nations.

From sections xxxii to lii of his *Apology*, Justin proceeds to quote a considerable number of the predictions, more or less in the order he has named, and from the nature of the quotations it is quite evident that he is using a testimony book. We can see also that his source, which was in Greek, based on but not directly translated from the Hebrew work, carried on the testimonies further, for it expanded the epilogue in order to describe the acceptance of Christ by the Gentiles, the desolation of Judea, the rejection of the Jews, and the Last Judgment. It was

therefore a Gentile version designed for Gentile evangelical purposes. There were probably a number of Greek versions, varying in certain particulars from the Hebrew, and on these were based a succession of works by different Church Fathers, supposedly addressed to Jews but really against them. It suffices to mention Melito's *Selections from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Saviour and our whole Faith*, Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa's *Selections of Testimonies to Jews from the Old Testament*, Tertullian's *Adversus Judaeos*, and Cyprian's *Liber Testimoniorum*.

Finally we have a late document in the name of Matthew, but evidently containing ancient material, prefaced by six iambic verses which Rendel Harris attributes to Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons in the second century, and which he renders :

Here Matthew curbs the boldness of the Jews,
With five-fold bridle of his fivefold book,
And whoso knows their error to confute,
By the same curb convicts all heresies,
For Jewish strife is mother of them all.

It has been noted already that Matthew's Gospel is arranged in five sections with a prologue and epilogue. Bacon gives these as follows :

The Preamble (i-11).

1. On the Righteousness of Sons (iii-vii).
2. Concerning Apostleship (viii-xi, 1).
3. Concerning the Hiding of the Revelation (xi, 2-xiii, 53).
4. Concerning Church Administration (xiii, 54-xix, 1a).
5. Concerning the Judgment (xix, 1b-xxvi, 1).

Epilogue (xxvi, 3-xxviii, 20).

We now have before us three complete sets and one

partial set of five-fold groupings, those of the Talmud, Justin, Matthew and Papias, and we may now see how far they agree with each other and the *Toldoth*. But before setting out a table, we may correct the Talmudic arrangement, which seems to depend on assonance rather than on chronological order.

Prologue ("I, Matthew").

1. Concerning his being called a Nazarene.
2. Concerning Mercy rather than Sacrifice.
3. Concerning the Innocent and Just One.
4. That he shall be called Son of God.

Our table will now appear somewhat as follows :

<i>Justin</i>	<i>Talmud</i>	<i>Matthew</i>	<i>Papias</i>	<i>Toldoth</i>
Pro.	Pro.	- - -	Pro.	- - -
1	1	1	1	1
2	2 (?)	2	—	2
3	—	3	2	3
4	3	(?)	3	4
5	4	5-Epi.	—	5
Epi.	—	Epi.	—	Epi.

Shown thus the agreements are much more striking than the differences, even allowing for the difficulty in placing the Talmud and Papias. It is particularly notable that the *Toldoth* agrees with Justin in everything except the Prologue, which omission it is natural to attribute to the viewpoint of the Jewish compiler. We would submit that there is at least some evidence here, without attempting to overstress this, to indicate that the Hebrew Gospel developed out of the five-divisioned Testimony treatise traditionally attributed to Matthew.

Before we pass on to the final stage in the growth of the Hebrew Gospel, we must note one important fact, that the existence of Justin's Epilogue, and indeed the last five

verses of *Matthew*, indicate how an Acts of the Apostles would arise naturally out of the Gospel ending, and was almost demanded, as Luke realized in penning his second treatise. Such an expanded Epilogue we know to have been a feature of *Hebrews*.

To Christians of the second century, who were familiar with the four canonical Gospels, *Hebrews* must have had a very composite look. This was due to the way in which *Matthew* and *Luke* were influenced by the Testimony Gospel. It is not then a matter for wonder that Epiphanius in a curious passage remarks : " They say that the *Diatessaron Gospel* owes its origin to him (Tatian), which some people call the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*."¹ It did seem to the uninitiated that *Hebrews* was a form of Harmony of the four canonical texts. Comparison of actual passages of Tatian's *Diatessaron* and *Hebrews* is almost impossible, as the original Syriac of the former is lost, and the late Arabic versions do not help us greatly in textual matters. But the Old Syriac Gospels and Gospel quotations from early Syrian authors, who may have used the *Diatessaron*, show a text rich in haggadah, and offering the same colourful elaboration of incidents that we find in *Hebrews*. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that some of these details were in fact in *Hebrews*, especially when we find them supported by the Clementines, which were definitely Jewish Christian works, or by the Ferrar group of MSS. which is partial to readings from " the Jewish."

Hebrews in its third stage, we may confidently assert, was a five-divisioned document with an Introduction and Appendix consisting of a brief Acts of the Apostles. It was distinguished by its oriental haggadic style and by its large number of Messianic proof-texts. In these respects its

¹ *Panar.* xlv, 1.

likeness to *Matthew* was most pronounced, yet it preserved incidents and sayings omitted in *Matthew* but still found in *Luke*, to a lesser extent in *John*, and to the least extent in *Mark*.

The original language of the Gospel was Hebrew. It has generally been assumed on insufficient grounds that this Hebrew was in fact Aramaic (commonly called Hebrew). Jerome, indeed, says that a copy seen by him in use among the Nazarenes of Aleppo was "in the Chaldean and Syrian speech but written in Hebrew characters";¹ but this only establishes that an Aramaic version existed in this north-Syrian town in the fourth century. We have to remember that by this time Aramaic had taken a firm hold on Jewish literature, even semi-sacred literature, so that the *Gemara* to the Palestinian Talmud and the later midrashim were in this language. But in the first and second centuries no Jewish book professing even a measure of divine inspiration would have been composed in Aramaic. Thus the *Mishnah*, with the *Boraithas*, and the earliest midrashim are in genuine Hebrew, not of course the classical Biblical tongue, but what is known as neo-Hebrew a more degraded form and containing many Aramaisms and loan words from Greek and Latin. The spoken language of the people was undoubtedly Aramaic, and their common documents were in the same tongue; but so anxious were the religious leaders not to secularize sacred things that they frowned on the LXX Greek version, and for a long time refused to allow the oral Aramaic Targums to be reduced to writing. The inclusion in the liturgy of an ancient Aramaic prayer even was felt to be something so exceptional as to require explanation. If, as we believe, *Hebrews* developed out of a collection of Messianic testimonies from the Bible, the possibility that

¹ *Dial. adv. Pelag.* iii, 2.

it was in Aramaic is very remote. Gaster demonstrated this long ago, and Margoliouth showed conclusively that *Matt.* i, 21, would lose all its force if the original was not Hebrew.¹ The writer has shown the same thing from *Matt.* xxiv, 32.²

We know that the *Logia*, or Testimonies, were afterwards translated into Greek, and no doubt Aramaic also. Hammer has brought forward evidence of Samaritan renderings.³ The resultant Gospel was also translated into Greek and Aramaic, and probably Samaritan. Clement of Alexandria quotes from a Greek version of *Hebrews*, and the Clementines and Origen also used this version.

The argument from language could be elaborated ; but this is unnecessary for our present purpose. Our only reason for introducing the subject is because it has been used by scholars in order to distinguish two or three different Gospels, each traditionally called "according to the Hebrews." We see no need for any such distinction. No-one of the patristic writers who quotes from *Hebrews* gives the slightest indication that there was ever more than one such work in different rescensions.

The other argument for distinguishing at least two documents rests on the supposedly conflicting statements of Jerome and Epiphanius, and upon an apparent difference between their respective texts in the only instance where comparison is possible. Let us set down some of these statements.

Epiphanius says of the Nazarenes : " They have the Gospel according to Matthew, very complete in Hebrew. For assuredly this is still kept among them, as it was origin-

¹ The play on the words " Jesus " and " save," *The Matthaean Narrative of the Nativity*, *Expositor*, Oct. 1919.

² *An Old Hebrew Text of Matthew's Gospel*, p. 28.

³ *Traktat vom Samaritanermessias*, pp. 32-48.

ally written, in Hebrew characters. But I do not know whether, at the same time, they have taken away the genealogies from Abraham to Christ" (*Panar.* xxix, 9).

Of the Ebionites, he says: "And these too (like the Nazarenes) receive the Gospel according to Matthew; for this they too, as also the Cerinthians and Merinthians, use to the exclusion of the rest. And they call it 'according to the Hebrews,' to tell the truth because Matthew alone in the New Testament set forth both the exposition and preaching of the Gospel in Hebrew speech and Hebrew characters" (*Panar.* xxx, 13).

And again: "In their Gospel 'according to Matthew' as it is named, yet not entirely complete, but corrupted and mutilated—the Hebrew (*Hebraikon*) they call it—it is contained, etc." (*Panar.* xxx, 13).

Jerome writes only of the Nazarene Gospel, of which he says: "In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is in the Chaldean and Syrian speech, but written in Hebrew letters, which the Nazarenes use to this day—'according to the Apostles'—or, as most term it, 'according to Matthew,' etc." (*Dial. adv. Pelag.* iii, 2).

It would be difficult to say that the Gospels used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites respectively were entirely different documents merely on the basis of these statements. If anything they suggest that the Gospels used by these two bodies of Jewish Christians were one and the same, except that the Ebionite copy had been corrupted and mutilated. The only fair test is to compare the two texts, and to see if they differ. Unfortunately they are only comparable at one place, in the description of the baptism.

Now the curious thing about these baptismal descriptions is that, contrary to what we might expect, it is the Ebionite copy which is the more straightforward, while the supposedly

more orthodox text of the Nazarenes gives a strongly haggadistic rendering. Moreover it is by no means certain that there was any real difference between them as Justin can be shown to be familiar with the ideas in both, and helps to reconcile them.

Hebrews (Naz.)

And it came to pass when the Lord was come up out of the water, the whole fount of the Holy Spirit descended and rested upon him, and said unto him, My son, in all the prophets was I waiting for thee that thou shouldst come, and I might rest in thee. For thou art my rest, thou art my first begotten son, that reignest for ever.

Hebrews (Eb.)

After the people were baptized, Jesus also came and was baptized by John; and as he came up from the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit in the likeness of a dove that descended and entered into him: and a voice from heaven saying: Thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased; and again: This day have I begotten thee. And straightway there shone about the place a great light.

Justin (*Dial.* lxxxvii)

(*Re. Isa. xi, 2*). The Scripture says that these enumerated powers of the Spirit have come upon him . . . because they would rest in him. . . . So that there would be no more prophets after the ancient custom. (He explains that each prophet had received one or more gifts of the Spirit, but Jesus had received all the powers of the Spirit.)

Justin (*Dial.* lxxxviii)

And when Jesus had come to the river Jordan where John was baptizing, when Jesus had gone down to the water both a fire was kindled, and when he had gone up from the water the Holy Spirit is recorded . . . to have lighted upon him as a dove

(The Old Latin MSS. Vercellensis and Sangermanensis have a reference to the light on Jordan at *Matt. iii, 15*.)

The reader will not fail to notice that the quotations from Justin are in consecutive sections, and indeed the argument runs on so that our second reference arises from the first. Both then relate to the baptism. Justin's interpretation of *Isaiah xi, 2*, is to the same effect as *Hebrews (Naz.)*, namely that the Spirit waited in the prophets for the coming of the

Messiah, and that while they had one or more of the seven spiritual gifts, when Jesus came the whole fount of the Spirit descended and rested upon him. Now Jerome's quotation from *Hebrews* is from his commentary on *Isaiah* xi, 2, and he introduces it with the remark "*The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him*, not partially as in the case of other holy men, but according to the Gospel written in the Hebrew speech, which the Nazarenes read, etc." Justin thus reconciles the apparent differences between the two MSS. of *Hebrews*, and at the same time offers us a particularly striking case of a Prophetic Testimony and its Interpretation.

Further light is thrown on these baptismal records by the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, where the anointing of the Messianic Priest-king is described in these terms: "The heavens shall be opened, and from the Temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification, with the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac. And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him, and the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water]." The bracketed words are a Christian interpolation. The quotation is from *Test. Levi*. xviii, 6-7 (Cf. *Test. Judah* xxiv, 1-3, which is to the same effect). The *Testaments*, according to Charles, date from the second century B.C.

It is probable that any differences that there may have been between the two texts of *Hebrews* in the fourth century were of late date, and did not apply to this Gospel as it stood in, say, the second century. The only conclusion to be drawn, therefore, whichever way we look at it, is that we are dealing with a single work, one copy of which was subsequently influenced by canonical Matthew (the Nazarene copy), while another (the Ebionite copy) was altered to fit in with the peculiar tenets of the community which used it.

CHAPTER XVII

THE GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS AND MATTHEW

WE have now to consider the relationship between *Hebrews* and *Matthew*. If tradition counts for anything at all, some relationship there must have been. For upwards of a thousand years in Syrian-speaking countries it was believed that Matthew's Gospel was written originally in Hebrew. It is not fair to assume, as is done by some scholars, that the entire line of tradition ultimately depends on a misunderstanding by Irenaeus of Papias' statement about Matthew having compiled the Logia in Hebrew. Those who carried on the tradition in the East were by no means dependent on Irenaeus, and in any case Irenaeus himself does not seem to have been wholly dependent on Papias. He has two statements on the subject in his work *Against Heresies*, and neither of them can be said to reflect Papias at all. In Book I, he is speaking of the Ebionites, who he says "use only that Gospel which is according to Matthew, and repudiate the Apostle Paul, calling him an apostate from the Law." And in Book III, he states that "Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundations of the church there." In the same century, the second, Pantaenus went as far east as the Persian Gulf, and there found in the possession of converts a Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, which they said the Apostle

Bartholomew had left with them. Bacon and others try to get rid of this inconvenient fact by arguing that the book which Pantaenus found was an Aramaic targum of our canonical Matthew, which later came to be mistaken for the original.

It is quite extraordinary to find in some after some of modern Gospel origins studies the labour which is expended in trying to prove that our Matthew was true blue or Greek from the start. A Hebrew ancestor in the family was something of which to be ashamed. But there the unfortunate semite was, who dared to call himself Matthew. What could be done with him? By inspiration Hebrew *Matthew* (not to be confused with *Hebrews*) was declared to be a targum of the Greek for the benefit of converted Jews. In fact this text was rather like a converted Jew, allowed by courtesy to bear his august sponsor's name.

It is rather difficult not to write with levity, and a little bitterness, about this scholarly anti-semitism, which has done so much to side-track investigators, and to hinder a true historical analysis of primitive Christian traditions. Let it be said once and for all that there is no warrant for the theory that Hebrew *Matthew* was a translation from the Greek in any known patristic reference.

What then is the real relationship between *Hebrews* and canonical *Matthew*? It is admitted that the Greek *Matthew* has a strong Hebraic tone; it is also the most haggadistic of the Synoptics. It has also been recognized that *Matthew* is structurally Jewish; that is to say it has the Pentateuchal five-book arrangement of the Testimonies, and shows a fondness for numerical groupings. In sentiment, except for minor editorial additions, it is dominantly Jewish Christian. Von Dobschütz quite justifiably calls the author "a converted Rabbi." The only difficulty in fact that

stands in the way of accepting the Greek as really translated from the Hebrew, instead of *vice versa*, is undoubtedly the irrefutable evidence that the Greek *Matthew* has largely used *Mark*.

We have already indicated where the solution to the problem lies. *Matthew* has hebraized *Mark*. That is to say he has produced a Markan overworking of *Hebrews*. It is now generally agreed that *Matthew* was composed in Syria, and probably sponsored by the influential Church of Antioch. Its author was a Jew converted to the orthodox Christian faith. In the region where he lived the Jewish Christians had had their communities from the earliest days of the faith, prior even to the conversion of Paul. It is by no means unlikely, therefore, that such a Jew was thoroughly familiar with *Hebrews*, and perhaps like many other Jews had accepted Christ through its influence. The Talmud (*Shabb. 116a, b*) establishes that a Hebrew Gospel with Matthaean matter was well-known to the Jews at the end of the first century. It would be natural for this Jew to employ the Hebrew Gospel as his foundation for a text designed to cement fraternal relations between the Jewish and Gentile Christians of Syria. From the Gentile side he would take the Markan Memoir of Jesus and introduce the greater part of it into the structure of *Hebrews*. At the same time he would retain or modify such parts of *Hebrews* as seemed to him advisable. He may also have employed the little Greek book of sayings and discourses of Christ evidenced by the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

We must again call Justin Martyr in evidence, for he was exactly the kind of Christian for whom the Greek *Matthew* was intended, and his writings appear to exhibit a knowledge of the documents out of which canonical *Matthew* was composed. We have already shown Justin's acquaintance

with *Ur-Hebrews* in its Greek dress, and we must now note his acquaintance with the little discourse book and with the Markan Memoirs.

The Evidence of Justin

In his *First Apology* (xiv) Justin says that the Christians endeavour to persuade their opponents "to live in conformity to the good precepts of Christ." And then he goes on to give examples of these precepts with the introduction : "Brief and concise utterances fell from him, for he was no sophist, but his word was the power of God." This reads almost as if it was based on the opening words of a little Discourse book. We may compare it with the introductory formula to one of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri : "These are the (excellent) words which Jesus the living one spake." We may also refer to the *Epistle of Clement* (xiii) : "Most of all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which he spake, teaching forbearance and long-suffering : for thus he spake ; Have mercy, etc."

When we examine the sayings of Jesus in Justin that follow, we find them grouped under headings : "Concerning chastity he said," "Of our love to all, he taught," "And concerning our being patient of injuries . . . he said," and so on. Both he and Clement are presenting the sort of sayings which we find in the Sermon on the Mount. The language is akin to *Matthew* and *Luke*, but seldom agrees exactly with either. Most of the sayings are not in *Mark* at all. There is, therefore, an *a priori* case for considering that Justin is using *Matthew* and *Luke's* so-called second source. We obtain the same result from an examination of the Oxyrhynchus sayings. In none of them can the influence of *Mark* be traced. Where canoni-

cal parallels can be given they reflect *Matthew* and *Luke*.

In *Dial.* x, again, Justin makes Trypho say : " I am aware that your precepts in the so-called Gospel are so wonderful and so great that I suspect no-one can keep them ; for I have carefully read them." Further on (*Dial.* xviii) Justin says : " Since, O Trypho, as you yourself admitted, you have read the doctrines taught by our Saviour, I do not think I have done foolishly in adding some short utterances of his to the prophetic statements." Here he seems to distinguish two of his works of reference, the Testimony Book (prophetic) and the Discourse Book (teaching). It may be noted that in *Dial.* xii he employs the expression " sabbatizing the sabbath " which occurs in one of the Oxyrhynchus sayings.

Let us now consider what Justin says about the Memoirs. In his *First Apology* (lxvi-lxvii) he speaks of them as the Memoirs of the Apostles, which he says were read in the Christian assemblies on Sunday. From these he quotes several times in the *Dialogue*, giving details from *Matthew* and *Luke* with some striking differences. It does not appear that these Memoirs were our Synoptic Gospels. We cannot forget that *Hebrews* is the only Gospel that was alternatively known as " according to the Apostles." Possibly this was the name by which it was known in one of its translations into Greek. It was one of the " many " of Luke's preface. With one Memoir, however, Justin does make a distinction. He singles out (*Dial.* cvi) a *Memoir of Peter*, saying, that in it was written that Jesus changed the name of one of the Apostles to Peter, " as well as that he changed the names of other two brothers, the sons of Zebedee, to Boanerges, which means sons of thunder." This appears to be a definite reference to *Mark* iii, 16-17. We have already mentioned that Papias states that Mark was

the interpreter of Peter, and set down from his sermons the things said and done by Christ.

The evidence of Justin thus points to his having used four documents. The Testimony Book with the Interpretations (*Ur-Hebrews* in Greek), the Discourse Book, the Gospel of the Apostles (a Greek version of *Hebrews*), and *Mark*. Probably the last three were used in the composition of *Matthew*.

But Justin can carry us further. He was one of those liberal Gentile Christians of the type for whom we have suggested canonical *Matthew* was written. These were living in a region where there were numerous communities of Jewish Christians who maintained the observances enjoined by the Law. There were two parties in each camp. On the Gentile side there were extremists who denied salvation to Jewish Christians who retained their ancestral customs. On the other hand, there was a moderate party of men like Justin, who were prepared to give the right-hand of fellowship to the Nazarenes, provided that they did not insist on the Gentiles keeping the Law.

This is very clearly brought out in Justin's *Dialogue* xlvii. Trypho asks, "Are there then some (Christians) who affirm that such (as keep the Law) will not be saved?" to which Justin replies: "There are such people, Trypho, and these do not venture to have any intercourse with or to extend hospitality to such persons; but I do not agree with them. But if some, through weak-mindedness, wish to observe such institutions as were given by Moses, from which they expect some virtue . . . then I hold that we ought to join ourselves to such, and associate with them in all things as kinsmen and brethren."

On the Nazarene side equally we have evidence of an extreme and a moderate party. The extremists denied

salvation to Gentiles who refused to become Jews in all things ; they also strongly opposed Gentile doctrines such as the Virgin Birth, and would have nothing to do with the Apostle Paul. The moderates were content to enjoin on the Gentiles the Noachic precepts set forth in the letter of the Council of Jerusalem quoted in *Acts* ; they were prepared to accept the doctrine of the Virgin Birth, and honoured Paul. The extreme view of the Jewish Christians is reflected in the Clementines. They held (*Hom.* ii, 19-20) that Jesus would not have healed the daughter of the Canaanite woman unless she had first " taken up a manner of life according to the Law." Origen speaks of " the twofold sect of Ebionites, who either acknowledge with us that Jesus was born of a virgin, or deny this, and maintain that he was begotten like other human beings " (*C. Cels.* v, 61).

The attitude of the moderate Jewish Christians is again reflected in the Nazarene commentary on *Isaiah*, part of which is quoted by Jerome.

The Nazarene Commentary on Isaiah

This commentary is of very great importance for our hypothesis, and we may quote some extracts from it.

On *Isaiah* viii, 14 (the two houses of Israel). " The Nazarenes, who receive Christ but have not relinquished the observance of the old Law, interpret the two families as those of Hillel and Shammai, from whom sprang the Scribes and Pharisees. . . . Shammai and Hillel arose in Judea not long before our Lord was born, of whom they interpret the former (by a word play) as ' devastator ' and the latter as ' profane ' ; because by their traditions and Mishna (*deuterosis*) they had devastated and defiled the ordinances of the Law."

On *Isaiah* ix, 4. "The Nazarenes, whose opinions I have stated above, endeavour to explain this passage as follows. At the coming of Christ and at his preaching they were illumined. The first region to be delivered from the errors of the Scribes and Pharisees was that of Zebulon and Naphtali, and the burdensome traditions of Judaism were lifted from their neck. But afterwards (the light) was increased through the gospel of the Apostle Paul, who was the last of the Apostles ; that is, the preaching was multiplied and the gospel of Christ blazed forth unto the borders of the Gentiles and the way of the world-sea."

On *Isaiah* xxix, 20-21 (That watch for iniquity . . . that make a man an offender for a word). "The Nazarenes testify against the Scribes and Pharisees, wherein they fail through their Mishna, who first deluded the people through their very bad traditions : they watched day and night in order to deceive the simple, and caused men to sin through (misrepresenting) the word of God, so that they should deny Christ."

Here we see quite definitely the position of the moderate Nazarenes in regard to Paul, whom the extremists rejected and vilified. But we see more than this. We see the Nazarene attitude towards Rabbinical Judaism, and cannot help noting that it is essentially the attitude of the writer of Matthew's Gospel. It is Matthew who brings together the criticisms of Jesus and welds them into the great diatribe of chapter xxiii. This section is absent from *Mark*, and *Luke* xi apports the criticisms to the Pharisees and Lawyers in turn. Matthew alone directs the whole battery at the Scribes and Pharisees collectively as in the Nazarene Commentary.

From all the foregoing evidence we receive confirmation that there was a moderate party among both Gentile and Jewish Christians in Syria, who were prepared to meet each other half-way, and it is not unreasonable therefore to assume that the canonical *Gospel of Matthew* was written to cement these fraternal relations.

As the writer has said elsewhere, "The phase extended even further. The native Syrian Christians were willing to allow the antiquity of the Nazarenes, and to accept the fact that they possessed genuine independent traditions regarding the life of Christ, which they were avid to learn and utilize. The imparting of this information, chiefly concerning the childhood of Jesus and certain incidents connected with his crucifixion and post-resurrection appearances, led to a whole literature of Infancy and other sectional Gospel narratives claiming authority from original Hebrew sources, which continued to be multiplied and elaborated for centuries."¹ In our comparison of the *Toldoth* with these apocryphal gospels we have seen that they mutually testify to the same extra-canonical Jewish Christian traditions, and thus help to establish *Hebrews* as the source text of the *Toldoth*.

So far it is necessary to go in order to show the strong probability that *Hebrews* was one of the sources of canonical *Matthew*, especially in structure. The obvious conclusion to this is that *Matthew* is our best Christian guide to the structure and some of the detail of *Hebrews*, while *Luke* is best for the order and content of the narrative. It is likely that the absence of peculiarly Markan matter and Discourse matter accounts for the fact that *Hebrews* according to the *Stichometry of Nicephorus* occupied 300 lines less than canonical *Matthew*. Actually the difference must

¹ *History of Jewish Christianity*, p. 91.

have been much greater, as part of it is made up by additional haggadistic material in *Hebrews*, and if the *Toldoth* is anything of a guide to proportion the *Acts* section must have occupied some 360 lines.

We cannot, of course, rule out the possibility that canonical *Matthew* had some influence on the Nazarene text of *Hebrews*, and produced certain modifications which would account for the differences between the version quoted by Jerome, and that of the extreme Jewish Christians of Transjordan quoted by Epiphanius.

As to which Gospel is best entitled to the name of Matthew, we have no hesitation in awarding the verdict to *Hebrews*.

THE "TOLDOTH" AND THE GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS

WE have now reached the stage in our investigation where we may properly compare the *Toldoth* text with the known fragments of *Hebrews*. On first consideration high hopes may be disappointed, owing to the fact that a large percentage of these fragments are sayings of Jesus, and here the *Toldoth* does not help us at all. The Jesus of our document only speaks in testimonies. However, even these testimonies and the other Old Testament references are of interest. If we omit the interpolated passage (iv, 12-15) the *Toldoth*, in the Gospel section, has twenty-nine direct citations of the Old Testament, of which the major part are from the *Psalms* and *Isaiah*. Of these twenty-nine there are seven which are adverse testimonies introduced probably by the compiler, so that the actual number is twenty-two. Of these six occur in *Matthew* and no less than thirteen in Justin. The quotations are taken direct from the Hebrew, and show no trace of LXX influence. This was also true of *Hebrews*, as we are informed by Jerome (*Cat. Script. Eccl.*) : "Wherever the Evangelist . . . makes use of the testimonies of the Old Scripture, he does not follow the authority of the Seventy translators, but that of the Hebrew."

The *Toldoth* omits the genealogy of Jesus ; but so did the Ebionite version of *Hebrews*. We learn something, however, from the opening words of the text. Codex S. uses language very like *Matt.* i, 18, and *Luke* i, 27. But Codex

W. shows that this was preceded by an introduction reminiscent of *Matt.* ii, 1, and *Luke* iii, 1. The *Toldoth* (P.) gives the additional information that Mary was the daughter of Hannah of the land of Galilee, which is in *James*, but not in the canonical Gospels. This may well have been in *Hebrews* as it savours of Nazarene tradition.

Epiphanius quotes freely from the beginning of the Ebionite text of *Hebrews*, and from this we can see quite definite agreements with the *Toldoth*. He is obviously not quoting carefully as he gives a shorter and a longer form of the same passage in his two references to it. Combining them we obtain the following :

It came to pass in the days of Herod the king of Judea, Caiaphas being high priest, there came a certain man whose name was John, baptizing a baptism of repentance in the river Jordan ; who was said to be of the lineage of Aaron the priest, son of Zechariah and Elizabeth. And all went out to him.

Even as this stands it exhibits evidence of condensation, and we are justified in slightly expanding the text and comparing it with the *Toldoth*.

Hebrews

Now it came to pass in the days of Herod the king of Judea,¹ Caiaphas being high priest, that in those days there came a certain man whose name was John,² baptizing a baptism of repentance in the river Jordan, [and saying, Repent ye : for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.] And he was [of Bethlehem of Judah], of the family of Aaron the priest, the son of Zechariah and Elizabeth : and all went out to him.

Toldoth

[Now it came to pass] in the days of the king that in those days there came a certain man whose name was John

 And he was of Bethlehem of Judah

¹ Cf. the beginning of the Book of Esther.

² Cf. *John* i, 6.

(Epiphanius goes on immediately to the baptism of Jesus, but says that there was much more in between which he has omitted. This must have included the birth story)

Now the birth of Jesus [the Messiah] was on this wise. His mother was Mary the daughter of [Joachim and] Hannah [of Nazareth] of Galilee. And she was espoused to a man of the house of David, whose name was Joseph the son of Pandera. And he was learned in the law, and feared heaven greatly.

These comparisons are strongly evidential that the *Toldoth* source began as did *Hebrews* in the Ebionite version. The beginning of the Nazarene version is lost. The seduction story in the *Toldoth* and the later reference to *Isaiah* vii, 4, would argue that the narrative in *Hebrews* proceeded somewhat like *Matt.* ii. Now we know for a fact that the Nazarene text had the substance of this chapter, including the testimonies at *Matt.* ii, 5, 15 and 23. But there are also agreements between the *Toldoth* and *James* and *Luke*, which show that *Hebrews* must have contained additional matter.

The next passage available for comparison is the account of the baptism of Jesus, for which the *Toldoth* substitutes the stealing of the Ineffable Name. We can only expect in consequence to find a few words in common.

<i>Hebrews</i>	<i>Toldoth</i>
After the people were baptized,	
Jesus also came and was baptized	 Then came Jesus and
by John. And as he came up	 And as he
from the water, the heavens were	went forth
opened, and he saw the Holy	
Spirit in the likeness of a dove	
that descended and entered into	
him ; and a voice from heaven	
saying, Thou art my beloved son,	Thou art my son
in thee I am well pleased : and	:
again, This day have I begotten	This day have I begotten thee .
thee. ¹	

¹ Cf. *Justir., Dial.* lxxxviii, ciii.

Here comparison is only possible with the Ebionite version.

<i>Hebrews</i>	<i>Toldoth</i>
(at <i>Matt.</i> vii, 21, x, 33)	(at iii, 15)
My Father which is in heaven	My Father which is in heaven

This exact form of words occurs only in *Hebrews* and *Matthew*. In *Luke* we have "Our Father" once, and in *Mark* "Your Father" twice.

<i>Hebrews</i>	<i>Toldoth</i>
Bring ye, saith the Lord, a table and bread . . .	He said unto them, Bring ye me a millstone . . .

The commandment of Christ to bring him something occurs very rarely in the Gospels. Of an object it is only found in *Mark* xii, 15, "Bring me a penny." The quotation from *Hebrews* belongs to a post-resurrection narrative.

We come now to the most difficult of all the fragments of *Hebrews*, which demands and deserves a longer study.

<i>Hebrews</i>	<i>Toldoth</i> (W.)
Just now, my mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs, and carried me up to the great mountain Tabor	And Jesus pronounced the great Name, and the Spirit came and set him up between heaven and earth (iii, 27, cf. iii, 19)

There is no parallel in the canonical Gospels for this levitation of Jesus by the Spirit. The suggestion that *Matt.* iv. 1, "Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness," can bear this interpretation is rather forced. The real levitations in the Temptation story are definitely stated to have been the work of the Devil. Nevertheless there is a kindred haggadic atmosphere. Both Origen and Jerome quote the saying from *Hebrews*, but neither of them gives any indication of its position. A clue, which links the *Toldoth* and *Hebrews*, is provided, however, by a passage in *Ezekiel* (viii, 1-4).

As I sat in mine house, and the elders of Judah sat before me, the hand of the Lord God fell there upon me. . . . And he put forth the form of an hand, *and took me by a lock of mine head ; and the Spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem. . . . And, behold, the glory of the God of Israel was there.*

It is to be noted that this experience of Ezekiel was not objective but subjective, and the saying in *Hebrews* may also be taken to imply a subjective experience, which Jesus related to his disciples immediately afterwards. For a similar kind of vision in early Christian literature we have to turn to the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

As I walked I fell asleep. And a Spirit took me and bore me away (*Vis. i*).

And he (the angelic shepherd) took me away into Arcadia, to a certain rounded mountain, and set me on top of the mountain, and showed me a great plain (*Simil. ix*).

The rounded mountain has been held, we believe rightly, to refer to Mount Tabor, the traditional scene of the Transfiguration, and from of old regarded as a sacred place. According to a Jewish midrash it was one of the three competing mountains for the privilege that God should give the Law to Moses upon it. There can be no question that the Transfiguration took place in Galilee, and there is no other mountain there that could be called, as in 2 *Peter* i, 15, "the holy mount."

The whole purport of the Transfiguration narrative in the Synoptics is to foreshadow the final glorification of the Messiah. For one brief moment a vision of that coming glory is shown to the disciples. Nor is the alternative account in *John* xii, 23-36, different in principle. It is this

latter version that introduces the saying "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me," which is given the quite erroneous interpretation, "This he said, signifying what death he should die." The *Toldoth* gives the correct meaning, namely, that he spoke of his ascension.

2 *Peter* brings the texts of the Synoptics and *John* into some kind of unity (cf. 2 *Peter* i, 16-19 with *John* xii, 23-36, and *Matt.* xvi, 24-xvii, 11). The visionary element is preserved in *Mark* and *Luke*, which state that the eyes of the disciples were heavy with sleep. It is probable that the narrative as given in *Hebrews* followed fairly closely the vision of Ezekiel, which we have quoted, and which concludes :

And the glory of the Lord went up from the midst of the city, and stood upon the mountain. . . . Afterwards the Spirit took me up, and brought me in a vision . . . to them of the captivity . . . Then I spake unto them . . . all the things that the Lord had showed me (xi, 23-25).

Jesus takes his three disciples Peter, James and John apart, and while they are sleeping he goes a little distance from them to pray, as was his custom. He has been talking to them about taking up one's cross, and that whoever will lose his life shall find it. Now, he himself, with the shadow of the cross over him, begins to be sorrowful. Yet he glorifies God. Then comes the comforting vision, and he returns to his disciples who are heavy with sleep, and reports to them his experience. In the *Toldoth* (W.) Jesus awakens from sleep and tells his disciples of his approaching death and ascension. When they see him he is transfigured as was Moses on coming down from Sinai with the light of heaven, as he tells them how the Spirit had taken him up to the summit of Tabor, and had glorified him there. Then

the disciples also are permitted to share in the vision, and see Moses and Elijah talking with him.

It is said in a midrash (*Tehill.* 39a) that in the time of the kingdom the Holy One will bring together Mount Sinai, Tabor and Carmel, and will place New Jerusalem on the top of them, and this is what is meant by *Isaiah* ii, 2, "The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established on the top of the mountains." So now there come to Tabor Moses of Sinai and Elijah of Carmel, to show the Son of Man coming in his kingdom (*Matt.* xvi, 28).

The position and the language of the passage in the *Toldoth* determines the association and narrative attached to the saying in *Hebrews*. There is further evidence of this in the fact that the *Toldoth* introduces at this point the first arrest of Jesus, followed by details which belong in the Gospels to the second arrest. We have to note the similarity between the account in *Matthew* of Jesus taking aside Peter, James and John in the Transfiguration narrative, and the same kind of situation in the Garden of Gethsemane ; and curiously John's Transfiguration story links up with the latter (cf. *Matt.* xxvi, 38-39 with *John* xiii, 27).

A reflection of the vision of Jesus still remains in the Jewish Christian *Odes of Solomon*, where it is commemorated in a hymn (*Ode* xxxvi).

I rested on the Spirit of the Lord : and the Spirit raised me on high, and made me stand on my feet in the height of the Lord, before His perfection and His glory. . . . The spirit brought me forth before the face of the Lord : and although a son of man, I was named the Illuminate, the Son of God. . . . For according to the greatness of the Most High, so He made me : and like His own newness He renewed me ; and He anointed me from His own perfection : and I became one of His

neighbours . . . and my access to Him was in peace ;
and I was established by the spirit of His government.

The *Odes* are a valuable witness to other incidents in the life of Christ, as we have it in *Hebrews*, and will well repay careful study in this connection. Here we may enumerate a few of the points of contact.

The Odes of Solomon

Ode xix, 6-10 (*The Birth of Jesus*). " (The Spirit) opened the womb of the virgin, and she received conception and brought forth ; and the virgin became a mother with many mercies ; and she travailed and brought forth a son, without incurring pain. . . . And she brought him forth openly, and acquired him with great dignity, and loved him in his swaddling clothes, and guarded him kindly, and showed him in majesty."

There are associations here with *Luke* and with the Infancy Gospels. The painless birth was an early tradition, as was the painless death of Jesus in the *Gospel of Peter*.

Ode vii, 18 (*The Baptism*). " He was resting in the son." Cf. *Hebrews*, " My son, in all the prophets did I await thee, that thou mightest come and I might rest in thee."

Ode xxiv, 1. " The Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because he was her head ; and she sang over him and her voice was heard." The fluttering of the dove is mentioned by Justin (*Dial.* lxxxviii). The song of the dove is recorded only in *Hebrews*.

Ode xxxviii, 10. " This is the deceiver and the error." Cf. *Hom.* iii, 53 " He said, The tempter is the wicked one."

Ode viii, 11. " Keep my secret, ye who are kept by it." Cf. *Hom.* xix, 20 (*Hebrews*), " Keep the secrets for me and the sons of my house."

Ode xxxix, 9. "His footsteps stand firm on the water." A reference to Jesus' walking on the sea of Galilee.

Ode v, 4-8 (The Escape). "My persecutors will come and not see me : a cloud of darkness shall fall on their eyes ; and an air of thick gloom shall darken them : and they shall have no light to see, that they may not take hold on me. . . . For they have devised a counsel, and it did not succeed : they have prepared themselves for evil, and were found to be empty." This passage seems to apply to the first arrest, and Jesus' escape.

Ode xxii, 12. "And that the foundation for everything might be thy rock: and on it thou didst build thy kingdom." Cf. *Matt. xvi, 18.* The reading "kingdom" for "church" was probably in *Hebrews*.

Ode xxviii, 10 (The Mocking). "Because I did good to every man I was hated, and they came round me like mad dogs."

Ode xxxi, 7-11 (The Mocking). "They divided my spoil, though nothing was due to them. But I endured and held my peace and was silent, as if not moved by them. . . . And I bore their bitterness for humility's sake : in order that I might redeem my people, and inherit it, and that I might not make void my promises to the fathers, to whom I promised the salvation of their seed."

Ode xxvii, 2 (The Crucifixion). "The extension of my hands is his sign ; and my expansion is the upright tree."

Ode xvii, 3-11 (The Descent into Hell and Resurrection). "I was loosed from vanity, and I was not condemned : the choking bonds were cut off by her hands : I received the face and the fashion of a new person. . . . And all that have seen me were amazed : and I was regarded by them as a strange person : and He who knew and brought me up is the Most High in all His perfection. . . . And I opened

the doors that were closed, and brake in pieces the bars of iron. . . . Nothing appeared closed to me, because I was the Door of everything. And I went over all my bondmen to loose them ; that I might not leave any man bound or binding."

There are numerous associations here with the Passion Gospels and the *Gospel of Peter*. The rising of the Old Testament saints seems to have been a very early tradition of the Jewish Christians, and was no doubt in *Hebrews*. It is reflected in *Matt.* xxvii, 53-54, 1 *Peter* iii, 18-20.

Ode xlii, 13-15 (*the same*). "And I was not rejected though I was reckoned to be so. I did not perish, though they devised it against me. Sheol saw me and was made miserable : death cast me up and many along with me."

Ode vi, 7-11 (*The Preaching of the Gospel*). "There went forth a stream and became a river great and broad ; for it flooded and broke up everything and it brought (water) to the Temple : and the restrainers of the children of men were not able to restrain it, nor the arts of those whose business it is to restrain waters ; for it spread over the face of the whole earth, and filled everything : and all the thirsty upon earth were given to drink of it."

The *Odes*, even from these brief excerpts, are seen to contribute something to our knowledge of the contents of *Hebrews*, and in two cases tend to support the narrative of the *Toldoth*.

We must now briefly follow another line of argument. We have considered as well as we may the direct associations between the *Toldoth* and *Hebrews*, and undoubtedly the most interesting link is that which establishes the character and context of the famous levitation fragment. But there is also indirect evidence which is worthy of consideration, rather on the lines that things which

are equal to the same thing are equal to one another. We propose shortly to show from the known fragments of *Hebrews* that it stood in the same relationship to the canonical and apocryphal Gospels as does the *Toldoth*.

The Indirect Evidence

As regards the relationship between *Hebrews* and the canonical Gospels, we have already considered some of the evidence on this point in the course of our discussion, particularly in the last two chapters. It will suffice here if we quote the conclusion of Nicholson, after examination of thirty-three fragments of *Hebrews*. Nicholson says, "We arrive then at a Gospel (a) in great part independent of the extant text of our Gospels, and (b) showing no signs of relationship to *Mark* or *John*, but (c) bearing a very marked affinity to *Matthew*, and (d) a less constant but still obvious affinity to *Luke*."¹

By relationship to *Mark* or *John*, Nicholson means that there is an infinitesimal indication that *Hebrews* contained matter peculiar to these two Gospels, and not in the others. This qualification is necessary, and based on his own deductions. Having made it, we can agree with his conclusions from our own independent investigation. The same broad generalization could be made with regard to the Gospel in Justin and the Clementines, and we have seen that the result of our comparison between the *Toldoth* and the canonical Gospels is exactly the same.

In other words, both the *Toldoth* and *Hebrews* stand in the same relationship to the canonical Gospels, having the largest number of agreements with *Matthew*, next with *Luke*, a very small number of agreements with *John*, and practically none at all with *Mark*.

¹ *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, p. 101.

When we examine the relationship between *Hebrews* and the apocryphal Gospels and the patristic literature the same result is obtained. So far as the brief fragments will help us, we find a predilection for the same writings. In the patristic literature support for *Hebrews* comes from Justin and the Clementines, while in the apocryphal Gospels *Nicodemus* (or the *Acts of Pilate*) is outstanding.

As regards Justin we have already instanced the Resting of the Spirit, and the Fire on Jordan, in connection with the baptismal section of *Hebrews*. In the Clementines we have the opposition to the sacrificial system, and the prominence of James the Just.

We may, however, bring forward one or two passages from the apocryphal Gospels and compare them with *Hebrews*.

In *Joseph of Arimathea* it is stated: "Jesus gave up the ghost on Friday at the ninth hour. And there was darkness over all the land and a great earthquake, so that the sanctuary fell, and the pinnacle of the temple." With this we may compare the words of Jerome, who tells us: "But in the Gospel that is written in Hebrew letters we read, not that the veil of the temple was rent, but that a lintel of the temple of wondrous size fell."

One of the most famous passages in *Hebrews* related the appearance of the risen Christ to James the Just. Now it is surely significant that we should find in *Nicodemus* a substituted story of the appearance of the risen Christ to Joseph of Arimathea, who has been imprisoned by the Jews. There seems to be some reflection of this story in the incident related of Peter in *Acts* xii, 3-10.

Finally, we would again remind the reader of the evidence that both *Hebrews* and the *Toldoth* conclude with a short Acts of the Apostles, and that the latter exhibits a five-fold structure.

It was once said by a great leader of the Reformation in connection with the identity of the Antichrist that "If the Pope of Rome be not he, he hath ill luck to be so like him." We would urge that our hypothesis that the *Toldoth* is based on *Hebrews* is proved not only by the similarities which we have illustrated, but by the overwhelming cumulative evidence, that at every possible point the *Toldoth* reveals its contact with Jewish Christian tradition.

It is a great temptation to conclude an investigation of this kind with an attempted reconstruction of *Hebrews*. We believe that ere long it will be possible for such an attempt to be made on the lines of all the connections and associations which have been set out in the foregoing pages. It is even now possible to restore conjecturally considerable passages from the indications which we have discovered of their contents. We should be ill-advised, however, to press our thesis too far until scholars have had the opportunity of criticizing and developing the argument of this book. It is likely that controversy will be concentrated on the two great novelties in the *Toldoth*, the story of the first arrest and release, or escape, of Jesus, and the resurrection narrative with its strange account of the removal of the body and its reburial in a vegetable garden.

During the progress of this investigation the writer has been particularly impressed with the favourable light in which the so-called apocryphal Gospels, especially the earlier ones, now appear as repositories of genuine historical tradition. Evidently they have been given much less credence than they deserve. There seems to be very little in them that is pure invention, and even when there has been deliberate alteration or a mistake of ignorance, there still seems to underlie the text ancient and apparently trustworthy tradition.

We may not vainly hope that not only has the *Toldoth*, and the literature which we have brought to bear on it, brought us nearer to the possession of one of the most important relics of early Christianity, but also has provided us with new light on the life of Christ.

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